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OD KRALJA "POLUBOGA" DO PRVIH IDEJA O "NACIONALNOM" KRALJEVSTVU

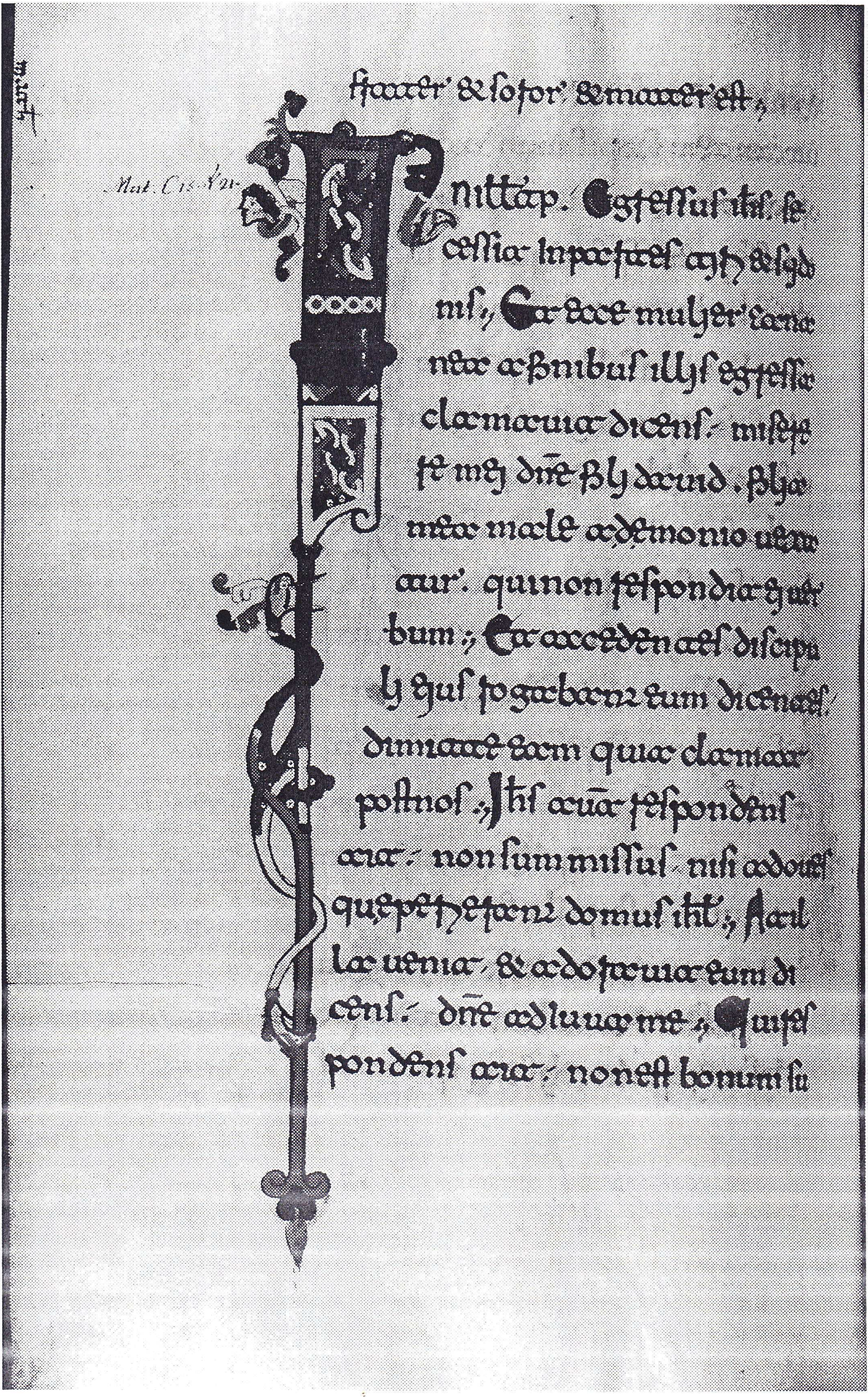
Okvir

Političke prepirke, pa i oštre raspre o budućem uređenju zajedničke države, što su se od sredine 19. stoljeća osobito žestoko razgarale u cijeloj Habsburškoj Monarhiji, pa i u zemljama "krune Sv. Stjepana", ubrzo su odjenule i "povijesno ruho". To je značilo da su se pogledi na budućnost gradili na povijesnim, ili možda posve precizno – pseudopovijesnim – argumentima. Na mađarskoj se strani u takvim uvjetima vrlo brzo uobličila ideja da je ugarski kralj stekao Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo u vojnom pohodu te samim tim poništio njegov politički individualitet. Išlo se čak i dotle da se uopće negirala Kolomanova zasebna krunidba hrvatskom krunom 1102. godine. Sukladno takvu tumačenju ugarski je kralj Hrvatsku jednostavno pripojio svome Kraljevstvu. Mađarski se povjesničari, među kojima su mnogi bili i politički vrlo aktivni (Kállay, Thallóczy), nisu, međutim, zaustavili samo na tome. Temeljeći svoja razlaganja na krajnje problematičnim navodima izvučenima iz konteksta najstarijih sačuvanih kroničarskih zapisa, u kojima se danas lako prepoznaju legendarne predaje što su se usmenim prenošenjem čuvale u vladajućim ugarskim krugovima, mađarska je historiografija razvila

FROM THE "DEMIGOD" KING TO THE FIRST IDEAS ABOUT A "NATIONAL" KINGDOM

Framework

The political arguments, even bitter disputes about the future organisation of the joint state that flamed up especially fiercely from the middle of the 19th century in the entire Habsburg Monarchy, and thus also in the lands of "the Crown of St. Stephen", soon took on a "historical cloak" as well. This meant that the views of the future were founded on historical or, better to say, pseudo-historical arguments. In these conditions, on the Hungarian side there soon took shape the notion that the Hungarian king gained the Croatian kingdom in a military conquest and thus annulled Croatia's separate political identity. Things went so far as to deny Koloman's separate coronation with the Croatian crown in 1102. In line with this interpretation, the Hungarian king simply annexed Croatia to his kingdom. However, Hungarian historians, many of whom were politically active (Kállay, Thallóczy), did not stop there. Basing their argumentation on extremely questionable quotations taken out of context from the oldest preserved writings by chroniclers, in which we can today easily discern legendary traditions that were handed down by word of mouth in the ruling Magyar circles,



Mat

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fratr' & soror' & mater' est ;

Inillo temp. Egressus ihs se
cessit in partes tyri & sydo
nis ; Et ecce mulier chana
nea a finibus illis egressa
clamavit dicens. misere
re mei dn̄e fili david. filia
mea male a demonio vexa
tur. qui non respondit ei ver
bum ; Et accedentes discipu
li eius rogabant eum dicentes.
dimitte eam quia clamat
post nos ; Ihs autem respondens
ait. non sum missus nisi ad oves
que perierunt domus isrl ; At il
la venit & adoravit eum di
cens. dn̄e adiuva me ; Qui re
spondens ait. non est bonum su

shvaćanje po kojemu je današnja Slavonija već od 10. stoljeća tvorila integralni dio Ugarske. Po tome shvaćanju, dakle, Hrvatska je sezala samo do srednjega Pounja, i to je bila ona Hrvatska koju su kraljevi Ladislav i Koloman osvojili i čijom se krunom zatim 1102. godine Koloman konačno okrunio. Ukratko, i možda malo karikirano, iz tih se prikaza moglo naslutiti da je Koloman zapravo provodio u djelo zamisli ideologa modernog mađarskog nacionalizma iz druge polovice 19. stoljeća, J. Eötvösa. Odatle je, pak, nedostajao samo korak do zaključka kako je u tome kraljevstvu vladala atmosfera koju ponajbolje uobličuje usklik mađarskoga pjesnika sredine 19. stoljeća, S. Petőfija, da su "manjine čir na tijelu majke domovine" (Anderson 1998, 100).

Na hrvatskoj, pak, strani stvari su se shvaćale bitno drugačije, doduše u vrlo sličnom misaonom kontekstu. Kao i mađarski, i hrvatski su povjesničari u svojim razglabanjima polazili od jednoga problematičnog vrela, teksta naknadno dopisanoga u *Kroniku* splitskoga arciđakona Tome, za koji se ustalio naziv *Pacta conventa*. Temeljem interpretacije toga vrela hrvatski su povjesničari 19. stoljeća razvili neobičnu teoriju o sklapanju "personalne unije" između Ugarske i Hrvatske na početku 12. stoljeća. Nevolja je, međutim, u tomu što je tako zamišljena "personalna unija" bila jako nalik onomu što je tadašnja hrvatska politička javnost priželjkivala kao oblik budućega uređenja suvremene zajedničke države (i među hrvatskim povjesničarima, koji su se bavili ovim pitanjima, bilo je onih koji se nisu zadovoljavali samo povijesnim raspravama, već su vrlo aktivno sudjelovali i u političkome životu). Po takvu je shvaćanju kralj Koloman 1102. godine pregovarao s predstavnicima "12 hrvatskih plemena", što je zapravo bio samo drugi naziv za vladajući sloj cijeloga Hrvatskog Kraljevstva. Sukladno takvoj interpretaciji pregovori su rezultirali sklapanjem pogodbe kojom je uglavljeno da će pripadnici vladajućega sloja ("12 plemena") sačuvati svoj privilegirani društveni položaj, a Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo i nadalje sačuvati svoj politički individualitet. Dakako, ne treba posebno ni isticati da je po shvaćanju koje je razvijala hrvatska historiografija 19. stoljeća Slavonija do pohoda kralja Ladislava započetoga 1091. godine bila sastavni dio Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva.

Ma kako žestoka sukobljavanja i rasprave hrvatskih i mađarskih povjesničara (i političara) oko ovih i sličnih pitanja bili u drugoj polovici 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća, sve je iznenada prestalo raspadom zajedničke države 1918. godine. Time se, zapravo, na najbolji i najsigurniji način pokazalo kako su te rasprave najvećim dijelom doista bile "politika preobučena u povijest". No, bez obzira na to što su izložena

Hungarian historiography developed a notion according to which the present-day Slavonia had already in the 10th century formed an integral part of Hungary. And so, according to this view, Croatia extended only as far as the central part of the valley of the river Una, and that this was the Croatia that kings Ladislas and Koloman conquered, and that this was the Croatia with whose crown Koloman was finally crowned in 1102. In short, and in a somewhat caricatured form, from these accounts we can conclude that Koloman was in fact carrying out the ideas of the ideologue of modern Hungarian nationalism from the second half of the 19th century J. Eötvös. And from that it is an easy step to the conclusion that the situation in that kingdom was such that it was best described by the Hungarian poet from the middle of the 19th century, S. Petöfi, that "minorities are a boil on the body of the motherland" (Anderson, 1998, 100).

On the other hand, the Croatian side saw things quite differently, albeit in a very similar context of thinking. Just like the Hungarians, the Croatian historians in their argumentation also started out from a very questionable source, a text that was subsequently added to the *Kronika* by Toma the Archdeacon of Split, which is customarily referred to as the *Pacta conventa*. On the basis of the interpretation of this source, the Croatian historians from the 19th century developed an unusual theory about the formation of a "personal union" between Hungary and Croatia at the beginning of the 12th century. The trouble with that, however, was that this form of "personal union" was very similar to that which the contemporary political public in Croatia hoped for as a form of future organisation of a modern common state (also among Croatian historians, who dealt with this topic, there were those that were not satisfied with purely historical debate, but were also very active in the political arena). According to this view, in 1102 king Koloman had negotiated with representatives of the "12 Croatian tribes", which was, in fact, just another name for the ruling circles of the whole Croatian kingdom. In line with this interpretation, the negotiations resulted in an agreement that defined that the members of the ruling estate ("12 tribes") shall retain their privileged social position, while the Croatian kingdom will retain its separate political identity. Of course, it goes without saying that according to the position developed by Croatian historiography in the 19th century, Slavonia was an integral part of the Croatian kingdom until the invasion of king Ladislas that began in 1091.

Regardless of the ferocity of the disputes and debates between Croatian and Hungarian historians (and politicians) shvaćanja 19. stoljeća bila izgrađena pod znatnim pritiskom dnevne politike, ona su postala temeljem historiografske tradicije i iz nje izrasle slike nacionalne povijesti u oba društva. Preko knjiga, a potom i iz njih izvedenih novinskih napisa, ali i preko visokoškolske nastave, koju su izvodili uglavnom isti oni koji su i stvarali ovakva shvaćanja, ideje uobličene do 1918. godine ušle su na "široka vrata" u društveni život u širem smislu. Kako hrvatski i mađarski povjesničari nakon 1918. godine gotovo i nisu više raspravljali o zajedničkome Kraljevstvu što je trajalo preko osam stoljeća, to su se predodžbe stvorene prije 1918. uporno održavale, pa se u najširem smislu održavaju i danas.

Doduše, u Hrvatskoj su takva shvaćanja ponešto revidirana nakon Drugog svjetskoga rata, uglavnom zaslugom Nade Klaić, koja je 60-ih i 70-ih godina prošloga stoljeća razvila novo i drugačije shvaćanje zajedničkoga Kraljevstva (Klaić 1972; Klaić 1990), kakvo se i danas održava među većim dijelom hrvatskih povjesničara. Naime, Nada Klaić je pošla od ideje koju je prvi iznio još Milan Šufflay, po kojoj je tekst poznat kao *Pacta conventa* tvorevina iz sredine 14. stoljeća. Po tome shvaćanju i sam je nastanak toga teksta vezan uz novi položaj koji tada po kraljevskoj odluci dobivaju pripadnici hrvatskoga sitnog plemstva, članovi tada stvorene zajednice "12 plemena". Odbijajući, dakle, shvaćanje po kojemu *Pacta conventa* registriraju ugovor kralja Kolomana i pripadnika vladajućega hrvatskog sloja o stvaranju "personalne unije", N. Klaić poseban položaj Hrvatske (u užem značenju, južno od Gvozda) izvodi iz drugačijega tumačenja. Ona polazi od komunikacijskih teškoća svojstvenih srednjovjekovnome svijetu i naglašava kako su prirodne zapreke spriječile ugarskoga kralja da u krajevima južno od Gvozda uspostavi učinkovitu vlast. Po njezinu tumačenju ugarski vladari, bar oni iz dinastije Arpadovića, nikad nisu uspjeli pod svoju punu vlast podvrgnuti lokalne hrvatske moćnike, koji su svoje županske dužnosti pretvorili u nasljedne položaje. Isto tako, vladari iz kuće Arpadovića nisu uspjeli preuzeti fond kraljevskih posjeda, onih posjeda koje su do 90-ih godina 11. stoljeća uživali hrvatski vladari "narodne krvi", a koji su nakon 1102. (valjda) prešli u ruke istih onih lokalnih moćnika koji su uzurpirali upravne dužnosti. Na kraju, zaključuje N. Klaić, Arpadovići nisu nikad uspjeli uspostaviti sustav naplaćivanja kraljevskoga poreza na zemlju u Hrvatskoj južno od Gvozda, što je konačan dokaz da oni nikad nisu stvarno vladali ovim dijelom zemlje. Rezultat takva razvoja, razvija autorica svoju osnovnu misao, jest i stvaranje lokalne strukture moći u kojoj glavnu ulogu igraju prave male dinastije lokalnih moćnika, kakvi su bili Šubići-Bribirski, knezovi Krčki (kasniji Frankapani) i Babonići. Oni su ti koji se uspijevaju lokalnome

about this and similar questions in the 19th and the early 20th century, all this suddenly came to an end with the collapse of the joint state in 1918. This, in fact, was the clearest and surest proof that these debates were, for the most part, indeed "politics wrapped in the cloak of history". However, regardless of the fact that the views expounded in the 19th century were developed under significant pressure from everyday politics, they became the foundation of the tradition of historiography and the images of national history that derived from it in both societies. Through books, and then from newspaper articles that derived from them, as well as through teaching in institutions of higher education that was carried out for the most part by the same people that created these views, the ideas that were formed up until 1918 found their way clear into social life in a broader sense of the word. Since Croatian and Hungarian historians after 1918 almost never dealt with the common Kingdom that lasted for over eight centuries, the preconceptions formed before 1918 were persistently perpetuated, and they persevere, in the broadest sense, even today.

However, it needs to be said that these views in Croatia have been somewhat revised after the Second World War, mainly as a result of the work of Nada Klaić, who had during the 1960s and 1970s developed a new and different understanding of the joint Kingdom (Klaić, 1972; Klaić, 1990) that has to this day been held by the majority of Croatian historians. Namely, Nada Klaić started out from the idea that was first put forward by Milan Šufflay, according to which the text known as the *Pacta conventa* dates from the 14th century. According to this view, the very creation of this text was linked with the new status that members of the Croatian lesser nobility, members of the community of "12 tribes" that was created at that time, were granted by royal decree. Dismissing, therefore, the view according to which the *Pacta conventa* register an agreement between king Koloman and members of the Croatian ruling class concerning the establishment of a "personal union", N. Klaić derives the special status of Croatia (in the narrow sense of the territory south of Gvozd) on the basis of a different interpretation. She starts out from difficulties in communication characteristic of the mediaeval period and stresses that natural obstacles prevented the Hungarian king from establishing effective rule in territories south of Gvozd. According to her interpretation, Magyar rulers, at least those from the Arpad dynasty, never managed to fully exert their rule over local Croatian lords who turned their duties as district prefects into a birthright. At the same time, the rulers from the house of Arpad did not succeed in taking over the entire royal estates, namely the

društvu nametnuti umjesto kraljevske vlasti i stvarno upravljati južnom polovicom Kraljevstva. Takvo se stanje, po tumačenju N. Klaić, promijenilo tek sredinom 14. stoljeća, kada kralj Ludovik Veliki uspijeva uspostaviti autoritet kraljevske vlasti i u Hrvatskoj, ali i u priobalnim gradovima. On iz njih istjeruje mletačke posade, pa čak 1358. godine uspijeva prisiliti mletačkoga dužda i na formalno odricanje od svih pretenzija na Hrvatsku i Dalmaciju.

Ovakva shvaćanja, bez obzira radi li se o onim tradicionalnim što su se razvijala na zasadama postavljenim u 19. stoljeću, ili u novijoj varijanti N. Klaić, dobila su novu dimenziju u okviru političkoga razvoja 20. stoljeća. To je vrijeme u dobroj mjeri obilježeno hrvatskim nastojanjima da se ostvari pravo na samoodređenje i političku neovisnost u okvirima vlastite države, u sklopu čega povijesni argumenti dobivaju na važnosti, postajući podloga masovne političke mobilizacije. Iz toga se ključa, doduše rjeđe u znanstvenoj historiografiji, ali zato vrlo često u popularno pisanim tekstovima o prošlosti, velikim dijelom tumači i ukupna hrvatska povijest, pa se i davna povijesna gibanja često objašnjavaju i mjere današnjim pojmovima i mjerilima. Tako se i u tim davnim gibanjima traže i nalaze elementi koji bi trebali dokazati da Hrvati stoljećima, sve od 1102. godine, nastoje obnoviti svoje tada propalo Kraljevstvo. Iz takva se kuta onda često promatra i zajedničko Ugarsko-Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo, a u postupcima ljudi iz daleke prošlosti pokušava se uočiti ono što odgovara modernim nazorima. U ovoj, pak, prigodi valja posebice naglasiti da se u takvim razmatranjima polazi od u najmanju ruku čudne i posve ahistorijske pretpostavke da su Hrvati 12., 15. ili 17. stoljeća isto što i Hrvati 20. stoljeća, da imaju ista shvaćanja, želje i stremljenja.

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Ovdje ćemo, dakle, poći od drugačije pretpostavke, podrobno razložene i potkrijepljene u literaturi (Patlagean 1980; Le Goff 1993; Le Goff 1994; Oexle 2001; Ančić 2002), sukladno kojoj svako vrijeme ima svoja vladajuća shvaćanja uobličena u izvjesnu vrstu “općega” ili “društvenoga znanja”. Takva shvaćanja i nazori najčešće se u društvenome životu pojavljuju i reproduciraju u obliku već gotovih “slika” koje predočavaju najvažnije elemente društvene strukture (u srednjovjekovnome bi svijetu to bili: “kralj”, “država”, “crkva”, “gospodar” i sl.) u obliku razumljivom najvećemu dijelu populacije jedne društvene zajednice. U takvim “slikama” pojedini predmeti i pojmovi imaju posebno i svima, ili bar većini, jasno i odmah prepoznatljivo značenje – oni su ono što zovemo “simbolima”. Riječ je o osobama, predmetima i pojmovima (primjerice: “posljednji hrvatski kralj Zvonimir”,

estates that until the last decade of the 11th century were held by Croatian rulers “of national blood”, which had after 1102 (presumably) passed to the same local lords that usurped the administrative duties. Finally, concludes N. Klaić, the Arpad rulers had never managed to establish a system of collecting royal land tax in Croatia south of Gvozd, which is the final proof that they never really ruled over this part of the land. The consequence of this development, as the authoress develops her basic idea, is also the creation of a local power structure in which the leading part was played by true small dynasties of local lords, like, for example, the Šubić-Bribir family, the princes of Krk (later known as the Frankapan family) and the Babonić family. They were the ones that managed to assert themselves to local society in place of royal power and to actually govern the southern half of the Kingdom. According to N. Klaić’s interpretation, this state of affairs was altered only in the 14th century, when King Louis the Great managed to establish royal authority both in Croatia as well as in the coastal towns. He drove Venetian garrisons from these towns and in 1358 he even managed to force the Venetian doge to formally renounce all pretensions towards Croatia and Dalmatia.

These interpretations, regardless of the fact whether they were traditional ones that developed on the tenets laid down in the 19th century, or in the newer variation by N. Klaić, gained a new dimension in the framework of the political development of the 20th century. This was a time that was for the most part marked by Croatian attempts to realise the right to self-determination and political independence in the framework of their own state, and in this context historical arguments gained in importance and became the groundwork for the political mobilisation of the masses. This is the key that is used, albeit not as much in scholarly historiography, but frequently in popularly written texts about the past, to interpret, for the most part, overall Croatian history, so that even ancient historical developments are frequently explained and measured using present-day terms and yardsticks. In this way authors in these ancient developments seek and find elements that are aimed at proving that Croats had for centuries, from as far back as 1102, tried to renew their former Kingdom. This point of view is then frequently applied to the joint Hungarian and Croatian Kingdom, and actions by people from the distant past are used to try and discern that which favours modern views. However, on this occasion we should especially stress that these analyses take as their starting point suppositions that are, at the very least, strange and quite non-historical, namely that Croats from the 12th, 15th or 17th century are the same as Croats in the "kruna", "stijeg", "ban", itd.) nabijenim značenjima koja kod promatrača, slušatelja ili čitatelja, izazivaju unaprijed predvidljive i očekivane emocionalne reakcije.

Na stranicama što slijede, polazeći iz ovako postavljenih okvira, pokušat ćemo razabrati kakve su "slike" kralja, načina na koji on vlada, a potom i države i njezinih organa, Hrvati, ili posve precizno – stanovnici srednjovjekovnoga Hrvatskog Kraljevstva, stvarali i rabili nakon 1102. godine. Pri tome će biti riječi o simbolima, bilo realnim bilo apstraktnim, koji su definirali ove široko shvaćene pojmove, potom o načinima na koji su se "slike" stvarale, reproducirale i širile, te, konačno, o tomu u kojim su krugovima srednjovjekovnoga hrvatskog društva sva ova pitanja bila uopće relevantna. To u jednom širem smislu znači rekonstruirati dio duhovnoga krajobraza srednjovjekovne Hrvatske onako kako su taj krajobraz stvarali i vidjeli ljudi toga doba. Uza sve to, dakako, mora biti riječi i o realnostima na kojima su se slike i simboli temeljili i iz kojih su proizlazili.

Ovakav je posao moguće ostvariti, dakako s pogledom na preostale materijalne predmete, u prvome redu oslanjajući se na pisani materijal koji nam je ostao kao trag srednjovjekovnoga svijeta. Glede očuvanosti toga materijala stanje je u Hrvatskoj općenito daleko od onoga kakvo je u drugim dijelovima Europe, kako one zapadne, tako i one srednje(-istočne). Doduše, u nekim dijelovima Hrvatske, prije svega onima koji su ostali pošteđeni od otomanskih osvajanja od kraja 15. stoljeća nadalje (priobalni gradovi, sjeverozapadni i zapadni krajevi), sačuvano je relativno mnogo pisanih vrela iz stoljeća razvijenoga i kasnog srednjeg vijeka. S druge strane, međutim, u krajevima koji su bar neko vrijeme bili pod otomanskom vlašću jednostavno ne postoje sačuvana pisana vrela iz predotomanskoga razdoblja, bez obzira na to kolika bila razina produkcije pisanih tekstova u tamošnjim društvenim zajednicama (izvrstan je primjer za to Knin; usp. o tamošnjoj situaciji Ančić 1996). Sve u svemu, iako danas ne postoji sustavan pregled tiskanih srednjovjekovnih vrela za cijelu zemlju, odnosno srednjovjekovno Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo (pojam je u prostornom smislu bitno drugačiji od današnje Republike Hrvatske), može se okvirno zaključiti kako taj materijal popunjava ukupno znatno više od stotinjak svezaka, odnosno knjiga. Tomu svakako valja pridodati ona nepublicirana, odnosno pisana vrela koja se danas čuvaju u različitim arhivima, kako u zemlji tako i u inozemstvu, a koja se približno za razdoblje od 1102. do 1526. godine mogu računati u vrlo konzervativnoj procjeni kao deset puta veća količina pisanoga materijala od onoga što je tiskano.

20th century, and that they share the same perceptions, wishes and aspirations.

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Here we shall, therefore, start out from a different presupposition, one that is comprehensively explained and documented in literature (Patlagean, 1980; Le Goff, 1993; Le Goff, 1994; Oexle, 2001; Ančić, 2002), in line with which every period has its own prevailing perceptions that are shaped into a form of "general" or "social knowledge". These perceptions and views most frequently appear and are reproduced in social life in the form of ready-made "images" that represent the most important elements of the social structure (in the mediaeval world these images would be: "the king", "the state", "the church", "the master" and so on) in a form that can be understood by the largest part of the population in a social community. In such "images" the individual objects and concepts have a particular meaning that is clear and instantly recognisable for all, or at least for the majority – and they are what we call "symbols". These are persons, objects and concepts (for example, "the last Croatian king Zvonimir", "the crown", "banner", "the *"ban"* and so on) that are pregnant with meaning and they give rise to predictable and expected emotional reactions on the part of viewers, listeners or readers.

Starting out from the framework that we have laid down in this manner, on the following pages we shall try to discern what are the "images" of the king, of the way in which he rules, as well as the state and its organs that Croats, or, to be precise – the inhabitants of the mediaeval Croatian Kingdom – created and used after 1102. We shall be dealing with symbols, whether they be real or abstract, that defined these broadly understood concepts, as well as with the ways in which the "images" were created, reproduced and transmitted, and, finally, with the strata of mediaeval Croatian society in which these questions held any relevance. This, in a broader sense, entails the reconstruction of a part of the spiritual landscape of mediaeval Croatia in a way that this landscape was created and perceived by contemporaries. Also, naturally, we need to deal with the realities on which the images and symbols were based and drawn from.

It goes without saying that such a task can be achieved by studying the remaining material objects, primarily using written material that has been preserved as a trace of that mediaeval world. With respect to the state of preservation of this material, the situation in Croatia is, generally speaking, far from that found in other parts of Europe – and not only

Iako se, bar na prvi pogled, radi o ogromnoj količini pisanoga materijala, valja ipak voditi računa o činjenici da sva ova vrela pokrivaju više od četiri stoljeća povijesti Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva. K tomu, disperzija je toga što nude sačuvana pisana vrela posve neravnomjerna, kako glede vremenskoga i prostornoga rasporeda tako i glede njihove nutarnje naravi, načina postanka i time uvjetovanoga sadržaja. Naime, najveći dio sačuvane pisane dokumentacije registrira život i gibanja u gradskim središtima na istočnoj obali Jadrana, najvećim dijelom u kasnosrednjovjekovnome razdoblju, od sredine 14. stoljeća nadalje. Način, pak, na koji sačuvana pisana dokumentacija zrcali život i gibanja toga davno nestaloga svijeta krajnje je nepovoljan za složenije povijesne raščlambe, poglavito stoga što se radi gotovo isključivo o formaliziranim dokumentima. Tekstovi koji bi u slobodnom, neformaliziranom obliku (kronike, zapisi, pisma, računi i sl.) zrcalili shvaćanja ljudi i njihove realne dnevne odnose koji su proizlazili iz tih shvaćanja i bili njima definirani zapravo su prava rijetkost. Veliku poteškoću realnome sagledavanju toga srednjovjekovnoga svijeta stvara i činjenica da je tek relativno uski krug ljudi onodobnoga društva uopće dolazio u prigodu da se bar dio njihovih života i aktivnosti zabilježi pisanim dokumentom. Dodir s pisanom riječju bio je, zapravo, rezerviran uglavnom za pripadnike društvene elite, odnosno nešto veći i brojniji segment gradskoga pučanstva. U takvim okolnostima i ono malo što o djelovanju suvremenika otkrivaju pisani dokumenti često ostaje nerazgovijetno, podložno vrlo različitim, pa čak i oprečnim objašnjenjima i interpretacijama današnjih povjesničara.

Na probleme nailazimo već i pri pokušaju da preciznije odredimo teritorij Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva od 12. do početka 16. stoljeća. Riječ je o relativno velikome području koje s današnjom Republikom Hrvatskom u prostornom smislu ima mnogo sličnosti, ali i velikih razlika. Sličnosti su svakako najizraženije glede zapadnih granica, koje su u najvećoj mjeri izgledale kao i današnja granica s Republikom Slovenijom. Na toj je strani srednjovjekovno Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo, međutim, graničilo s Njemačkim Carstvom, pa se u onodobnim dokumentima krajevi preko granice i nazivaju *Alemania*. Upravo je ovdje pojam "granice" bio najbliži našem današnjem shvaćanju toga pojma kao čvrsto definirane crte koja razdvaja dvije političke jedinice. Na toj graničnoj crti postojali su uređeni prijelazi (*portae*), ali su bile izgrađene i nadzorne točke te postavljene prepreke (*indagines*) kako bi se zapriječilo nekontrolirano prelaženje (V. Klaić 1903). No, kako srednjovjekovna kraljevstva ipak nisu bila isto što i moderna teritorijalna država s čvrsto određenim pravom državljanstva, to su pojedini velikaši s velikim posjedima u pograničnome po-

western Europe but also central and eastern parts of the continent. Admittedly, in some parts of Croatia, primarily those that remained untouched by Ottoman conquests from the end of the 15th century onwards (coastal towns, the northwestern and western parts of the country), a relatively large amount of written sources have been preserved from the centuries that cover the developed and late mediaeval periods. However, on the other hand, in parts of the country that were at least for a time under Ottoman rule, there are simply no preserved written sources from the pre-Ottoman period, regardless of the level of the production of written texts in these communities (an excellent example of this is Knin; cf. the situation there in Ančić, 1996). All in all, although today we have no systematic overview of the printed mediaeval sources for the entire country, namely the mediaeval Croatian Kingdom (and this term is geographically significantly different from the present-day Republic of Croatia), we can generally conclude that this material consists of significantly more than a hundred volumes or books. To this we should certainly add the unpublished sources, namely written documents that are kept in various archives, both at home and abroad, and which, for the period between 1102 and 1526, can be said to cover, in a very conservative estimate, as much as tenfold in comparison to the amount of published material.

Although at first sight it may seem that we are dealing with an enormous amount of written material, we should note the fact that all these sources cover more than four centuries of the history of the Croatian Kingdom. Furthermore, the dispersion of what the written sources offer is quite unbalanced, both with respect to the distribution of the material in time and region and with respect to its inherent nature, the way it came into being and the content that is determined by this fact. That is to say that the largest part of the preserved written documentation registers life and events in town centres on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, for the most part in the late mediaeval period, from the middle of the 14th century onwards. However, the way in which the preserved written documentation mirrors life and developments in this distant world is extremely unfavourable for more complex historical analyses, particularly in view of the fact that they are almost exclusively formalised documents. Texts that would freely, in an informal form (chronicles, notes, letters, bills and so on), mirror people's understanding and their real everyday relationships that derive from these views and stand defined by them are, in fact, a true rarity. A great obstacle in the realistic assessment of that mediaeval world is also the result of the fact that only a relatively small

dručju znali uspostavljati i "posebne odnose" s vladarima u susjedstvu (Babonići i Krčki-Frankapani s hrvatske strane, Meranski a kasnije i Celjski grofovi s njemačke strane granice). Glede, pak, samoga izgleda granice najveća je razlika u odnosu na današnje stanje to što je u 11. stoljeću Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo izgubilo područje Rijeke i istarske obale do Plominskoga zaljeva u korist Njemačkoga Carstva. Od toga se vremena granica spuštala iz Gorskoga kotara na Trsat, najzapadnije naselje tadašnje Hrvatske. Vrijedi svakako pripomenuti i to kako se na ovoj strani jedina promjena granice nakon 1102. godine dogodila početkom 13. stoljeća. Naime, za vladavine kralja Andrije II. tadašnje je Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo izgubilo područje oko Metlike, preciznije četiri crkvene župe u tome kraju, koje je kralj, po svemu sudeći, poklonio bratu svoje prve žene, Bertoldu Meranskome. Oko toga izgubljenog područja vodit će se dugi prijepori, sve do kraja 14. stoljeća, ali ono nikad neće biti vraćeno u okvire Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva.

Južne granice Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva nakon 1102. mijenjale su se znatnije i češće no one zapadne. Na ovoj je strani Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo graničilo s jednom od najmoćnijih političkih tvorbi srednjovjekovnoga svijeta, Mletačkom Republikom, čiji su interesi bili usmjereni ponajprije prema izgradnji i učvršćenju nadzora i kontrole pomorskih komunikacija. Stoga nije čudno što je predmet prijepora, pa i oružanih sukoba, čak i velikih ratova, sve do početka 15. stoljeća bio otočni pojas uz obalu Jadrana i grad Zadar sa širom okolicom. Nad otocima, kako onim sjevernojadranskim tako i onim srednjodalmatinskim, kao i nad Zadrom, stalno se izmjenjivala vrhovna vlast ugarsko-hrvatskoga kralja i mletačkoga dužda. Veći dio razdoblja od 1102. do početka 15. stoljeća otoci i Zadar su ipak proveli pod duždevom vrhovnom vlašću, a prijepor je konačno riješen u prvim desetljećima 15. stoljeća. Između 1409. i 1420. Venecija je trgovinom, ratom i političkim pregovaranjem uspjela uspostaviti trajnu i učinkovitu vrhovnu vlast. No, sada to više nije bila vlast samo nad otocima i Zadrom nego i nad cijelim obalnim pojasom od Nina do Žrnovnice, a potom sredinom 15. stoljeća i nad priobalnim područjem sve do Neretve. Na taj je način od Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva otkinut u to doba svakako njegov najrazvijeniji dio, s velikim gradskim središtima i otvorenim komunikacijama prema ostatku svijeta, što se s pravom smatra početkom njegova "raščinjavanja" (Raukar 1997). U praksi je, pak, to značilo da je nakon 1420. i ovdje uspostavljena "granica" koja je već ličila na ono što se pod tim pojmom podrazumijeva i danas (Šunjić 1967). Iz toga vremena, ali i spleta političkih silnica u njemu izgrađenih, potječe i neobičan položaj Dubrovnika. Doduše, grad je postao

segment of people in mediaeval society had the opportunity of having at least a part of their lives recorded in written documents. Coming into contact with the written word was, in fact, reserved mainly for members of the social elite and a somewhat larger segment of the town population. In these circumstances, even the small light that written documents shed on the actions of contemporaries frequently remains undecipherable and subject to diverse, even opposing explanations and interpretations of present-day historians.

We come across problems at the very outset, when attempting to provide a more precise definition of the territory encompassed by the Croatian Kingdom from the 12th to the beginning of the 16th century. Here we are dealing with a relatively large area that has, geographically, many similarities with the present-day Republic of Croatia, but also some major differences. The similarities are the most pronounced with respect to the western borders that for the most part matched the present-day border with the Republic of Slovenia. However, at that time the mediaeval Croatian Kingdom had as its western neighbour the German Empire, so that contemporary documents call the region across the border *Alemania.* It was here that the term "border" comes closest to our contemporary understanding of the term as a firmly defined line that divides two political entities. This border had established border crossings *(portae),* as well as sentry points and barriers *(indagines)* to prevent uncontrolled crossings (V. Klaić, 1903). However, since mediaeval kingdoms were not the same as modern territorial states with a strictly defined right of citizenship, individual magnates with large estates in border regions often established "special relations" with neighbouring rulers (the Babonić and Princes of Krk or Frankapan families from the Croatian side, the counts of Meran and Cilli from the German side of the border). Nevertheless, with respect to the shape of the border the greatest difference is evident in the fact that the Croatian Kingdom lost the region of Rijeka and the Istrian coast to the Bay of Plomin in the 11th century. From that time the border was drawn from Gorski Kotar down to Trsat, the westernmost settlement in Croatia at that time. We should also note that the only change in regard to this border after 1102 occurred at the beginning of the 13th century. That is to say that during the reign of King Andrew II the Croatian Kingdom lost the region around Metlika, or to be more precise, four parishes in the region that the king apparently gave as a gift to the brother of his first wife, Bertold of Meran. This lost territory would be the subject of long disputes, all the way until the end of the 14th century, but it would never be returned to the Croatian Kingdom.

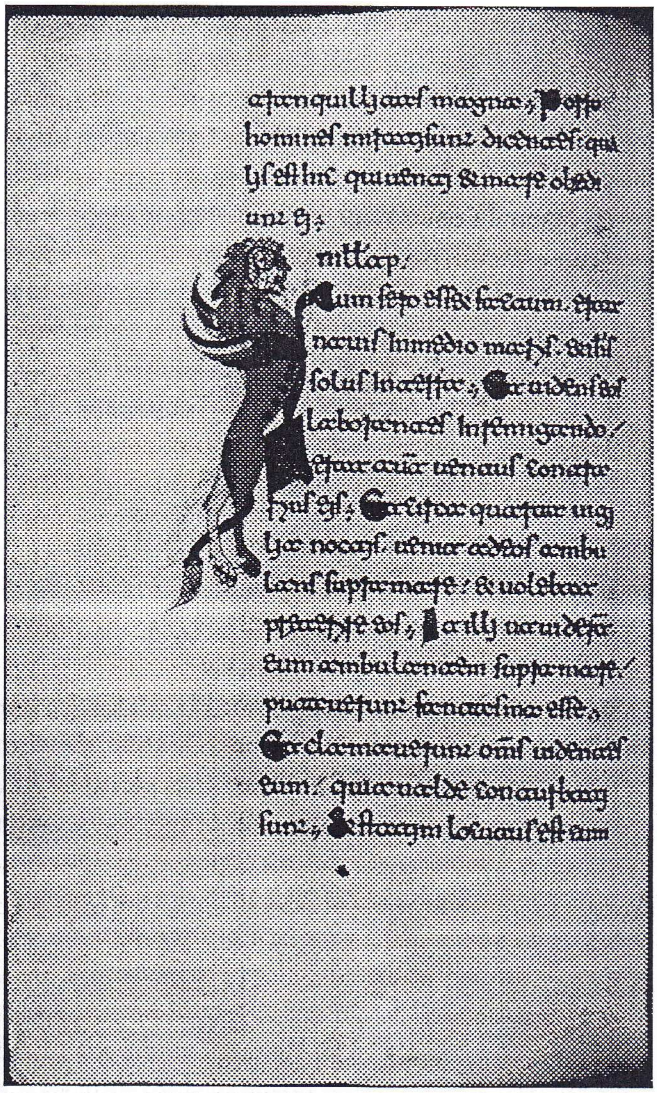
svojevrsni *corpus separatum* u odnosu prema ostatku Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva već 1358. godine, kada je s okolnim područjem i došao pod vlast ugarsko-hrvatskoga kralja (Foretić 1980).

I dok su zapadne i južne granice Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva bile stvarne granice prema politički posve autonomnim i neovisnim jedinicama, drugim državama, dotle su istočne i sjeverne granice Kraljevstva bile već nešto posve drugo. Naime, i na sjever i na istok od Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva širila se vlast istoga onoga vladara koji je vladao ovdje – ugarsko-hrvatskoga kralja. Stoga su i značenje samoga pojma "granica", ali i njezin izgled i održavanje, bili posve drugačiji u odnosu prema onome što danas podrazumijevamo pod tim pojmom. U takvim uvjetima "granica" je označavala razliku između dviju administracija, zapravo razliku između podložnosti dvama "gospodarima", koji su priznavali istu vrhovnu vlast sa svim onim što je u tome dobu vrhovna vlast značila. Posljedica je toga bila činjenica da "granica" tu više nije bila manje ili više čvrsto određena crta koja se mogla pomjerati samo uporabom sile. Svojom ju je odlukom mogao promijeniti, ili priznati njezinu promjenu, upravo taj vrhovni vladar, nastojeći na taj način održati osjetljivu ravnotežu među "gospodarima" koji su priznavali njegovu vlast. Pri takvim, pak, promjenama "granice" nisu se, međutim, odmah mijenjali ni etničke značajke pučanstva, ni zatečeni oblici administracije i upravne ustrojbe, pa ni sklop običaja koji su u to doba imali snagu zakona. Tek su se tijekom vremena i gotovo neprimjetno i postupno, ukoliko bi promjene imale trajniji karakter, pokazivali znaci i pojavljivale jasnije posljedice uklapanja u novo, odnosno drugačije administrativno područje. U okolnostima koje ostaju pobliže nepoznate, zbog nedostatka vrela koja bi o tomu govorila, upravo su se takve promjene relativno često događale na istočnim granicama Kraljevstva nakon 1102. godine.

Na toj je strani, naime, srednjovjekovno Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo najvećim dijelom graničilo s područjem pod vlašću bosanskih "gospodara", koji su do 1377. godine nosili titulu bana, a od te godine kraljevsku titulu. Bosanski su "gospodari", neovisno o tomu kakvom su se titulom koristili, sve do 1461. godine praktično priznavali vrhovnu vlast ugarsko-hrvatskoga kralja. Način, pak, na koji se ta vrhovna vlast ostvarivala ovisio je o realnim i praktičnim okolnostima, počevši od toga kakve su prilike vladale u širem susjedstvu do osobnih sposobnosti upletenih aktera (Ančić 1997; Ančić 2001). Tijekom vremena, međutim, bosanski su "gospodari" uspjeli pod svoj nadzor staviti velike dijelove Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, tako da se tu može govoriti o stalnom fluktuiranju

The southern border of the Croatian Kingdom after 1102 was subject to more frequent and significant changes than that to the west. There the Croatian Kingdom touched on the borders of one of the most powerful political entities of the mediaeval world, the Venetian Republic, whose interests were aimed primarily at establishing and strengthening the monitoring and control of maritime communications. It is therefore no surprise that the subject of disputes, and even armed conflict, sometimes leading to great wars, was, during the entire period up to the beginning of the 15th century, the island belt along the Adriatic coast and the town of Zadar with its surroundings. The sovereignty over islands, both those in the northern Adriatic and those in the central Dalmatian region, was subject to constant change between the rule of the Hungarian and Croatian king and the Venetian doge. Nevertheless, for most of the time between 1102 and the beginning of the 15th century, the islands and Zadar were under the rule of the Venetian doge, and the dispute was finally settled in the first decades of the 15th century. Between 1409 and 1420 Venice had managed to establish a permanent and effective supreme authority through trade, war and political negotiations. However, it no longer ruled only over the islands and Zadar, but also over the entire coastal belt from Nin to Žrnovnica, and later on, in the middle of the 15th century, even over the coastal region all the way south to the river Neretva. In this way the most developed region, with great town centres and open communications with the rest of the world, was severed from the Croatian Kingdom, and this is rightly seen as the beginning of its "dismemberment" (Raukar, 1977). In practice this meant that a "border" in the modern sense of the word was also established here after 1420 (Šunjić, 1967). From that time, as well as from the mesh of political influences there arose the unusual position of Dubrovnik. Although it is true that the city became a separate entity, a *corpus separatum,* from the rest of the Croatian Kingdom as early as in 1358, when it and the surrounding region came under the rule of the Hungaro-Croatian king (Foretić, 1980).

While the western and southern borders of the Croatian Kingdom were real borders with politically quite autonomous and independent entities, namely other states, the eastern and northern boundaries of the Kingdom were something quite different. That is to say that the rule of the same ruler – the Hungarian and Croatian king - stretched both to the north and the east of the Croatian Kingdom. That is why the meaning if the term "border", as well as its shape and maintenance, were quite different than what we under-



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"granice". Najvjerojatnije već potkraj 12. ili na samome početku 13. stoljeća bosanski je ban pod svoj nadzor stavio široko područje od planina Šatora i Cincara do porječja srednjega Vrbasa i rijeke Vrbanje ("Donji Kraji"), za što je posve sigurno dobio i neku vrstu odobrenja od ugarsko-hrvatskoga kralja. Od 1326. godine pod vlašću bosanskoga "gospodara" nalazi se i Humsko kneštvo (današnja zapadna i središnja Hercegovina, s primorjem od Vrulje do Pelješca), dotada autonomno političko područje u sklopu Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva. No, sredinom 14. stoljeća tadašnji je ugarsko-hrvatski kralj, Ludovik Veliki, vratio u okvire Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva velik dio Humskoga kneštva, kao i dio Donjih Kraja. U 15. stoljeću, pošto je u posljednjem desetljeću prethodnoga stoljeća situacija vraćena na stanje kakvo je vladalo prije 1356. godine,

stand by this term today. In these conditions the "border" determined a line between two administrations, in fact the difference of subservience to two "masters" that both accepted the same supreme sovereignty with all the trappings that this entailed at that time. As a result, the "border" here was no longer more or less defined as a line that could be altered only through the use of force. The sovereign could, in fact, change or accept a change in the border in order to maintain a delicate balance between "lords" who accepted his sovereignty. When such changes took place, this did not entail an immediate change in either the ethnic characteristics of the population nor the existing forms of administration and system of government or the set of customs that at that time had the power of law. It was only over time and almost imperceptibly and gradually, in cases where the changes had a more permanent character, that there were signs and clearer consequences of adjustment to a new or different administrative region. In circumstances whose details remain unknown, because of a lack of sources that deal with them, it was precisely these changes that relatively frequently occurred on the eastern borders of the Kingdom after 1102.

It was there that the mediaeval Croatian Kingdom for the most part shared a border with the region under the rule of Bosnian "lords", who had up to 1377 held the title of *ban,* and from that year the title of king. Regardless of the title they used, Bosnian "lords" had up to 1461 practically acknowledged the supreme sovereignty of the Hungarian and Croatian king. However, the way in which this sovereign power had manifested itself depended on the existing and practical circumstances, starting out from the state of affairs in the broader neighbouring region to the personal abilities of the people involved (Ančić, 1997; Ančić, 2001). However, over time, the Bosnian "lords" had managed to place under their control large parts of the Croatian Kingdom, so that here we can speak about a constant flux of the "border". It was most probably already at the end of the 12th century that the Bosnian *Ban* placed under his control the broader region from the mountains of Šator and Cincar to the central Vrbas valley and the river Vrbanja ("Donji Kraji"), and it is quite certain that he received a form of agreement to do this from the Hungarian and Croatian king. From 1326 the Bosnian "lords" also had control of the Principality of Hum (the present-day western and central Herzegovina, with the coastal belt from Vrulja to Pelješac), which was up to that time an autonomous political region within the framework of the Croatian Kingdom. However, in the middle of the 14th century, the Hungarian and Croatian king, Louis the

bosanski je kralj uspio pod svoj nadzor staviti i cijelo Livanjsko polje, zajedno s Grahovom. Potom je uspostavio nadzor i nad porječjem gornje Sane, a jedan od njegovih velikaša uspio se sredinom 15. stoljeća učvrstiti u porječju Unca. Upravo zahvaljujući takvu širenju nadzora i vlasti, bosanski je kralj Stjepan Tomaš počeo u drugoj polovici 40-ih godina 15. stoljeća u svoju titulu unositi "Dalmaciju i Hrvate", a potom tražiti i načina da svoje kraljevstvo učini neovisnim o ugarsko-hrvatskome kralju (o svim ovim promjenama detaljno Ančić 1999; Ančić 2001). No, pošto je pohodom iz 1463. godine sultan Mehmed II. uništio Bosansko Kraljevstvo, situacija se glede ovoga dijela istočnih granica Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva stubokom promijenila. S jedne strane, velik je dio Bosanskoga Kraljevstva, u protuudaru što ga je vodio kralj Matija Korvin iste 1463. godine, stavljen pod izravan nadzor kraljevske vlasti. Dijelovi su toga prostora organizirani kao područje s posebnom administracijom – banovine Jajačka i Srebrnička (Thallóczy 1916), a dijelovi su uklopljeni ili, preciznije, vraćeni u administrativne okvire Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva (današnja jugozapadna Bosna, zapadna Hercegovina, Rama). S druge strane, međutim, ova je granica nakon 1463. postala mnogo čvršćom i jasnijom razdjelnicom, koja je sada počela razdvajati dva oprečna svijeta u stanju stalnoga neprijateljstva. Naime, na granici je sada stajala jedna nova ali i velika sila, Otomansko Carstvo, s nezasitnim ambicijama za teritorijalnim širenjem. Od vremena smrti kralja Matije Korvina, 1490. godine, pa sve do kraja 16. stoljeća trajat će žilava i okrutna borba na toj granici, borba koja se s punim pravom može označiti kao "hrvatski stogodišnji rat" (Valentić 1994). Kroz cijelo to vrijeme granica će se stalno pomjerati dalje na zapad, na štetu Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva.

Ostatak istočne granice Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva predstavlja još uvijek neriješen problem za povjesničare. Naime, od donjeg toka Vrbasa, preko Save, zapadnih obronaka Papuka i Psunja do Drave, tekla je administrativna granica koja je, bar od početka 14. stoljeća nadalje, današnju istočnu Slavoniju ostavljala izvan domašaja uprave hrvatsko-slavonskih banova. Podrijetlo te granice, njezino eventualno postojanje i značenje prije 1102. godine, okolnosti u kojima je dobila novo značenje od početka 14. stoljeća, ali i cijeli niz pitanja u svezi s ovim već postavljenima, i danas su historiografski neraščišćeni problemi. No, pitanja u svezi s tom granicom, odnosno njezinim postankom i značenjem, predstavljala su problem i za ljude 14. stoljeća. U to je vrijeme posebnu raspravicu posvećenu takvim pitanjima napisao, najvjerojatnije, tadašnji dužnosnik zagrebačkoga kaptola, Ivan arcidakon gorički. Bez ambicije da se ovdje daju konačni odgovori na postavljena pitanja, valja ipak naznačiti neke osnovne stvari. U

Great, returned to the framework of the Croatian Kingdom a large part of the Principality of Hum, as well as a part of the Donji Kraji. In the 15th century, after the situation reverted to the state that existed before 1354 during the last decade of the 14th century, the Bosnian king also succeeded in placing under his control the Plain of Livno together with Grahovo. He then established control over the upper reaches of the Sana valley, and one of his magnates managed to establish himself in the valley of the Unac River by the middle of the 15th century. It was precisely as a result of this expansion of control and authority that the Bosnian king Stjepan Tomaš began to include, from the 1540s onwards, in his title "Dalmatia and the Croats"; furthermore, he sought ways to make his kingdom independent of the Hungaro-Croatian king (for details of all these changes see Ančić, 1999; Ančić, 2001). However, after the Sultan Mehmed II destroyed the Bosnian Kingdom in his campaign in 1463, the situation with respect to this part of the eastern borders of the Croatian Kingdom had completely changed. On the one hand, a large part of the Bosnian Kingdom was placed under the direct control of royal power after the counterattack led by King Matthias Corvinus in that same year, namely 1463. Part of this region was then organised as a region with a special administration – the *banates* of Jajce and Srebrena (Thallóczy, 1916), while other parts were incorporated or, to be more precise, returned to the administrative framework of the Croatian Kingdom (the present-day south-western Bosnia, western Herzegovina, Rama). However, on the other hand, this border had, after 1463, become a much stronger and clearer dividing line that now began to separate two opposing worlds in a state of constant enmity. That is to say that there was a new and great power on the border, the Ottoman Empire with its undying ambitions for territorial expansion. From the time of the death of Matthias Corvinus in 1490 to the end of the 16th century, this border will be the scene of a tenacious and bloody struggle, a struggle that can rightly be called the "Croatian Hundred Years' War" (Valentić, 1994). During this entire period, the border was continuously shifted further to the west, at the expense of the Croatian Kingdom.

The remainder of the eastern border of the Croatian Kingdom is still a problem that historians have not solved. That is to say that, a least from the beginning of the 14th century, an administrative border ran from the lower part of the Vrbas valley, across the Sava River, the western foothills of Papuk and Psunj, and up to the Drava River, and this border left the present-day eastern Slavonia outside the jurisdiction of the *Bans* of Croatia and Slavonia. The origin of

prvome redu treba reći da nije slučajno što upravo ocrtana granica predstavlja i istočnu granicu Zagrebačke biskupije, iz čega se može zaključiti kako je, bar u posljednjim desetljećima 11. stoljeća, ta granica igrala određenu ulogu i imala određenu društvenu važnost (granice biskupija koje se organiziraju u ovo doba u pravilu prate, na ovaj ili onaj način, suvremene administrativne i upravne podjele). S druge strane, međutim, valja upozoriti i na činjenice koje zasvjedočuju da je u 13. stoljeću, za koje već raspolažemo određenom količinom sačuvanih vrela, područje županija požeške, vukovarske i srijemske bilo pod ingerencijama hrvatskih hercega, odnosno hrvatsko-slavonskih banova. K tomu se i na ovome području kroz cijeli srednji vijek pobire isti porez kao i u ostalim dijelovima Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva – "marturina" – što također govori u prilog administrativnoga i pravnoga jedinstva s ostatkom Kraljevstva (V. Klaić 1994; V. Klaić 1904). Ono, međutim, što čini posebnost područja današnje istočne Slavonije jest činjenica da se upravo ovdje, od svih prekodravskih krajeva, utjecaj ugarsko-hrvatskih vladara od 12. stoljeća nadalje ponajviše osjećao. Taj je utjecaj bio osobito izražen u stvaranju nove mreže vlasničkih odnosa i s time povezane slike etničkih odnosa u krugu društvene elite, pa je i broj ugarskih plemića i ratnika koji su kraljevskim darovnicama dobivali nove posjede u ovim krajevima bio osobito velik. Teško je danas, bez podrobnijih istraživanja, tvrditi kako je upravo ovaj element bio od odlučne važnosti kod administrativne preustrojbe koju je još V. Klaić prilično precizno i uvjerljivo datirao na početak 20-ih godina 14. stoljeća, no utjecaj tako stvorenoga novog stanja ne bi trebalo ni podcjenjivati. Bilo kako bilo, od toga vremena nadalje županije požeška, vukovarska i srijemska više nisu bile pod ingerencijama hrvatsko-slavonskih banova, a u kojoj je mjeri ovakvo stanje utjecalo na društveni razvoj, teško je, u nedostatku relevantnih vrela, danas i naslutiti.

I tako smo, konačno, došli i do sjeverne granice srednjovjekovnoga Hrvatskog Kraljevstva, koja je najvećim dijelom odgovarala i današnjoj granici s Republikom Mađarskom. Granica na Dravi svojevrsni je *topos* srednjovjekovnih vrela, kako onih nastalih na kraljevskome dvoru (najuobičajenija referenca u toj vrsti dokumentacije jest oblik *partes ultradravanes*), tako i onih što su nastala u krajevima na jug od te rijeke. Značenje "granice" u tome kontekstu dakako nije ono koje asocira na današnji pojam "državne granice", već radije granice različitih upravnih, administrativnih i pravnih, pa čak i etničkih područja. No, iako se rijeka često pojavljuje kao "granica", suvremeni dokumenti jasno ukazuju da to nije uvijek i neizostavno bilo tako. S jedne strane, naime, stoji činjenica da je zagrebački biskup od početka pod svojom

this border, its possible existence and significance before 1102, the circumstances in which it gained a new meaning from the beginning of the 14th century, as well as a whole series of questions linked with these, have remained unresolved by historiography to this day. However, the questions in connection with this border, namely in connection with its origin and meaning, were also a problem for people in the 14th century. At that time a special discussion devoted to these problems was, most probably, written by a contemporary official of the Zagreb Chapter of Bishops, Ivan, archdeacon of Gorica. With no ambition of trying to provide ultimate answers to these questions, we should nevertheless note several basic facts. Firstly, it needs to be said that it is no accident that the border as described also marks the eastern border of the Zagreb Diocese, from which we can deduce that, at least in the last decades of the 11th century, this border played a certain part and had a certain social significance (the borders of the dioceses that were organised at that time, as a rule, followed, more or less, the contemporary administrative divisions). However, on the other hand, we should also note certain facts that bear out that in the 13th century, for which we have a certain amount of preserved sources, the territory of the dioceses of Požega, Vukovar and Srijem were under the jurisdiction of the Croatian dukes, namely the *Bans* of Croatia and Slavonia. We should also note here that all through the mediaeval period in this region the same tax was collected as in other parts of the Croatian Kingdom – the "marturina" –, which also speaks in favour of the administrative and judicial unity with the rest of the Kingdom (V. Klaić, 1994; V. Klaić, 1904). However, the region of present-day eastern Slavonia is the most specific because it was here, of all the territories across the Drava, that the influence of Hungarian and Croatian kings was felt the most from the 12th century onwards. This influence was especially evident in the creation of a new network of relations of ownership and the reflection of the state of the ethnic relationships among the social elite that arose from this, so that there were especially many Hungarian nobles and warriors who were granted estates in this region by royal decree. Without detailed research, today it is difficult to state that it was precisely this element that was crucial in the administrative reorganisation that V. Klaić fairly precisely dated to the early 1320s, but the impact of the newly created situation should not be underestimated. In any case, from that time onwards, the counties of Požega, Vukovar and Srijem were no longer under the jurisdiction of the *Bans* of Croatia and Slavonia, and the extent to which this situation affected social development is hard to imagine because of a lack of relevant sources.

ingerencijom imao i krajeve preko Drave (arciđakonat Bekšin, koji je uključivao i Međimurje, pa čak i dio teritorija preko Mure), što je do danas izvor nesporazuma i prijepora u tumačenjima hrvatskih i mađarskih povjesničara. S druge strane, vrela 13. stoljeća pokazuju da su ugarske županije šomođska, zaladska i baranjska prekoračile Dravu, odnosno da su tamošnji župani upravljali posjedima na jug od Drave, što je također dalo povoda različitim tumačenjima unutar dviju nacionalnih historiografija (Andrić 2001). No, bez obzira na ta "odstupanja od pravila", zaključak da je Drava doista predstavljala razdjelnicu dva po svemu različita svijeta ostaje više od običnoga dojma. Jasno se to potvrđuje i time da je nakon 1320-ih, odnosno nakon izdvajanja ispod hrvatsko-slavonske jurisdikcije, područje današnje istočne Slavonije u upravnom i administrativnom pogledu uklopljeno u novostvorenu mačvansku banovinu, političku jedinicu koja je, gledana i iz Budima, razvidno zadržala "prekodravske" značajke i značenje.

Kraljevstvo bez kralja

Kako je, dakle, ovaj upravo orisani teritorij na kraju 11. i na samome početku 12. stoljeća došao pod vlast ugarskoga kralja? Tako postavljeno pitanje mučilo je povjesničare u najmanju ruku već od 13. stoljeća, od vremena kada je na njega odgovor pokušao dati splitski povjesničar i kroničar, Toma arciđakon, svakako najzanimljiviji i do danas najcitiraniji autor hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja. Njegov odgovor, odnosno interpretacija događaja s kraja 11. stoljeća, nije ostao bez zamjerki i rasprava već ubrzo po njegovoj smrti. O važnosti, pak, i utjecaju Tomina teksta, ali i pitanja i odgovora koji su u njemu iznose, u misaonome svijetu suvremenika i kasnijih generacija dovoljno govori jedna činjenica koju valja posebno naglasiti i objasniti. Riječ je, naime, o tomu da je netko u 14. stoljeću, nekoliko desetljeća nakon Tomine smrti, našao za potrebno u jednome od rukopisa njegove *Kronike*, i to upravo u onome koji se čuvao u splitskome kaptolu, dopisati poseban kratki sastavak s drugačijom verzijom događaja s kraja 11. stoljeća. Dakako, danas je nemoguće znati jesu li Tomine interpretacije i stavovi izazivali rasprave kod njegove publike, uglavnom pripadnika obrazovanijega sloja pučanstva Splita i ostalih dalmatinskih gradova, koji su mogli razumjeti složeni tekst pisan latinskim jezikom. Činjenica je ipak da naknadno dopisani sastavak (danas poznat pod imenom *Pacta conventa* ili *Qualiter*) prikazuje zbivanja iz 1102. godine u drugačijem svjetlu od onoga koje baca izvorni Tomin tekst. To, pak, daje za pravo zaključiti kako su

And so, finally, we come to the northern border of the mediaeval Croatian Kingdom, which for the most part matches the present-day border with the Republic of Hungary. The border on the Drava is a particular *topos* in mediaeval sources, both those that originated at the royal court (the most frequent reference in these types of documents is the form *partes ultradravenes)*, as well as those that were created in regions to the south of that river. The meaning of the "border" in this context is, naturally, not the one with which we would associate the modern term "state border", but rather a border between different administrative and judicial, and even ethnic regions. However, although the river frequently appears as the "border", contemporary documents clearly show that it was not always the case. That is to say, on the one hand there is the fact that the bishop of Zagreb had from the beginning held under his jurisdiction lands on the other side of the Drava (the Archdiocese of Bekšin, which included Međimurje, and even a part of the territory across the Mura River), and this has remained a source of misunderstanding and dispute in the interpretations of Croatian and Hungarian historians to this day. On the other hand, sources from the 13th century show that the Hungarian counties of Somogy, Zala and Baranya crossed the Drava, and this has also given rise to various interpretations within the two national historiographies (Andrić, 2001). However, regardless of these "exceptions from the rule", the conclusion that the Drava was indeed a dividing line between two very different worlds is more than just a mere impression. This is also clearly borne out by the fact that after the 1320s, namely after being taken from the jurisdiction of Croatia and Slavonia, the region of present-day eastern Slavonia was administratively incorporated into the newly established county of Mačva, a political unit that had, even from Budim's standpoint, clearly retained the characteristics and significance of a territory "across the Drava".

A Kingdom Without a King

The question, then, is how did this territory that we have marked out at the end of the 11th and at the very beginning of the 12th century come under the rule of the Hungarian king? This question, when formulated in this way, had intrigued historians certainly from the 13th century onwards, from the time when the historian and chronicler from Split, the Archdeacon Toma, the most interesting and to date the most quoted author from the Croatian mediaeval period tried to provide and answer. His answer or, better to say, interpre-

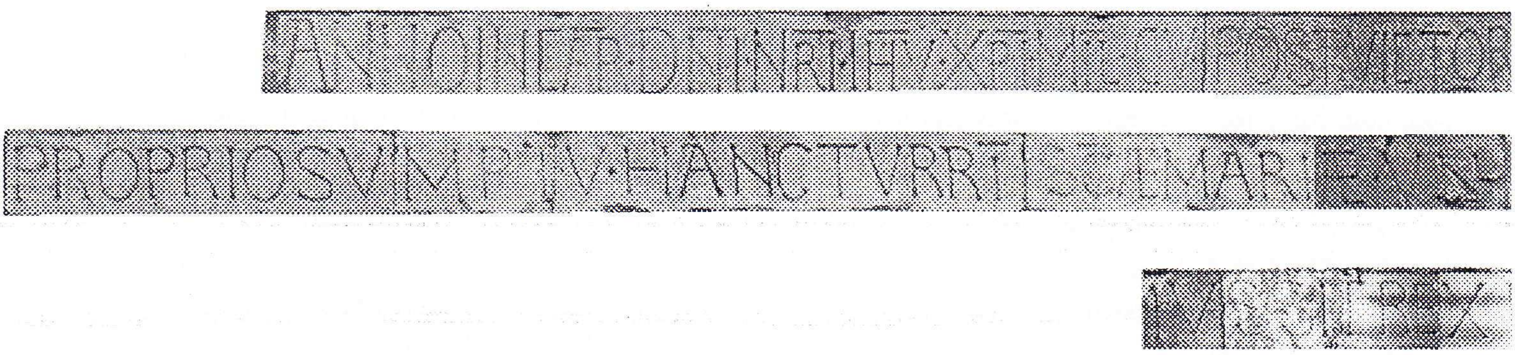
već u 13. i 14. stoljeću pitanja načina i posljedica uspona Kolomana Učenog na hrvatski prijestol izazivala veliku pozornost, bar u jednome segmentu tadašnjega hrvatskog društva. Nije nevažno ovdje pripomenuti još nešto – upravo će Tomin izvorni tekst s jedne, i naknadno dopisani sastavak s druge strane, poslužiti kao podloga stvaranju dvije različite historiografske "slike" zbivanja iz 1102. godine, "slike" o kojima je bilo riječi na početku ovoga teksta.

No, ostavljajući Tomu i Anonima koji ga je "ispravljao", i njihove rekonstrukcije događaja o kojima su zapravo mogli znati vrlo malo, zasada po strani, valja pokušati odgovoriti na gore postavljeno pitanje sukladno onomu što nude vrela suvremena tim zbivanjima. Ostvarenje takve nakane treba početi s prikazom prilika u kojima je okončana vlast Stjepana II., posljednjega vladara dinastije Trpimirovića. Stjepan se, naime, na kraljevski prijestol popeo 1089. godine i na njemu ostao vrlo kratko, tek do 1091. godine. U trenutku krunidbe, međutim, on svakako više nije bio mlad, budući da je zasvjedočeno kako je prethodnih četrnaest godina proveo u samostanu. Tamo je bio poslan u vrijeme kada se kraljevskoga položaja dočepao dotadašnji ban i, po svemu sudeći, uzurpator – Zvonimir. Jesu li ove promjene i gibanja koja su ih pratila bili eventualno uzrokom stvaranju i razgaranju društvenih napetosti i sukoba, ili su bili tek njihova posljedica, danas je nemoguće odgovoriti. Zapravo je nemoguće, uslijed nedostatka relevantnih vrela koja bi to rasvijetlila, čak reći jesu li uopće sva ova zbivanja imala nekoga šireg društvenog odjeka, ili su nevolje za Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo doista počele onoga trenutka kada je vladajućem sloju postalo jasno da se dotadašnja vladajuća dinastija gasi smrću Stjepana II.

Taj osjećaj opisuje zapravo tek povjesničar i kroničar 13. stoljeća, već spominjani Toma, izričajem da je "nestao sav rod kraljevske krvi". Iako mnogo kasniji, njegov opis zrcali suštinu društvenoga iskustva, jednu od onih "slika" o kakvima je bilo riječi na početku, "sliku" koja u kratkome opisu sublimira svu neizvjesnost i tjeskobu kakvu je izumiranje vladajuće dinastije donosilo svijetu na prijelomu ranoga i razvijenog srednjeg vijeka. Ne smije se, naime, ovdje smetnuti s uma činjenicu da je u tome svijetu kralj još uvijek imao jasno iskazane značajke sakralnosti, da se uobičajeno smatralo kako "kraljevska krv" ima gotovo nadnaravna svojstva, i kako je kralj stvarni stožer cijeloga društva, garancija sigurnosti i mira. Stoga Tomino insistiranje na tomu da je "nestanak roda kraljevske krvi" bio uzrok nevoljama, uobličenima u sukobe oko vlasti, i iz toga proizašla mnoga zlodjela, uvjerljivo ocrtava društvenu atmosferu koja je vladala u takvim prigodama. Doduše, sam Toma nije osobno doživio i preživio takvu

tation of the events from the end of the 11th century had raised objections and provoked debate soon after his death. Nevertheless, the importance and impact of Toma's text, as well as of the questions and answers it brings, on the thinking of contemporaries and later generations can be discerned from a fact that we need to especially stress and explain. The point is that someone in the 14th century, several decades after Toma's death, felt the need to add to one of the manuscripts of his *Chronicles,* to the one kept in the chapter in Split, a short piece with a different version of the events from the 11th century. It goes without saying that today it is impossible to say whether Toma's interpretations and views provoked debate among his reading public, who were, for the most part, members of the educated class of townspeople in Split and other Dalmatian towns who could understand the complex text written in Latin. It is a fact, nevertheless, that the added piece (nowadays known as the *Pacta conventa* or *Qualiter)* presents the events from 1102 in a light that is quite different from the one in Toma's original text. This, then, allows us to conclude that the questions relating to the way in which Koloman the Learned ascended to the Croatian throne provoked great interest as early as in the 13th and 14th centuries, at least in one segment of the contemporary Croatian society. We would not be remiss in adding that it would be precisely Toma's text on the one hand, and the subsequently added text on the other, that would serve as the basis for the creation of two different "images" in historiography concerning the events from 1102, "images" that we have mentioned at the beginning of this text.

However, leaving aside Toma and the anonymous hand that "corrected" him, as well as their reconstructions of events that they could not have known much about, we should try and answer the question posed above in line with the sources that are contemporary with the events we are dealing with. In order to do this, we need to begin with the situation in which the rule of Stjepan II, the last of the rulers of the House of Trpimir, ended. Stjepan took to the throne in 1089 and ruled very briefly, up to 1091. However, at the time of his coronation he was no longer young, since there is evidence that he had spent the preceding fourteen years in a monastery. He was sent there at a time when the former *Ban,* and apparently usurper, Zvonimir gained the throne. Were these changes and the developments that followed possibly the cause of the creation and heightening of social tensions and confrontations, or whether they were merely their consequence is impossible to say now. In fact, as a result of the lack of relevant sources that could throw light on the matter, it is impossible even to say whether all these events had any



ANNO INCAR(nationis) D(omi)NI N(ost)RI JESV CHR(isti) MIL(lesimo) CV POST VICTORIAM ET PACIS PRAEMIA JADERAE INTROITVS A DEO CONCESSA PROPRIO SVMPTV HANC TVRRI(m) S(an)C(t)AE MARIAE VNGARIAE DALMATIAE CHROATIAE CONSTRVI ET ERIGI IVSSIT REX COLLOMANVS

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društvenu situaciju, no Ugarsko-Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo je dosta brzo po njegovoj smrti, već na izmaku 13. stoljeća, zapalo u ono što današnjim rječnikom opisujemo kao "dinastičku krizu". I doista, sve ono što suvremeni i već vrlo brojni dokumenti otkrivaju kao zbivanja posljednjeg desetljeća 13. i prvog desetljeća 14. stoljeća kao da je ostvarenje Tomine katastrofične slike izumiranja vladajuće dinastije.

Ovdje, međutim, valja postaviti pitanje – u kojoj mjeri suvremeni dokumenti potvrđuju "sliku" ocrtanu mnogo kasnije, u 13. stoljeću i vremenima nakon toga, odnosno je li nakon smrti kralja Stjepana II. u Hrvatskom Kraljevstvu doista došlo do sukoba oko vrhovne vlasti? Na tako postavljeno pitanje, nažalost, nije moguće odgovoriti jednostavno i s punom sigurnošću jer nedostaju vrela koja bi to omogućila. Pri tomu problem ne predstavlja nedostatak bilo kakvih vrela, već upravo onih koja bi eksplicitno govorila o stanju i općim prilikama u Hrvatskome Kraljevstvu. Tako se, primjerice, u popisu posjeda biogradskoga samostana Sv. Ivana Evanđeliste s kraja 11. ili početka 12. stoljeća, a koji je dio velikoga zbornika samostanskih dokumenata ("kartulara") iz 14. stoljeća, nalazi čak trinaest zabilješki o nabavkama zemlje za samostan za vrijeme dok je na njegovu čelu stajao opat Madije, u razdoblju od 1085. do 1095. godine. No, ni jedna od tih zabilješki ne daje nikakve informacije o tomu tko je u vrijeme Madijeva opatovanja vladao Hrvatskim Kraljevstvom, odnosno o tomu kakve su prilike tada vladale u zemlji. Tek jedna isprava iz istoga "kartulara", i to ona nastala 1103. godine, o kojoj će još biti riječi, govori o tomu kako je nekoliko godina ranije, dakle u vrijeme o kojemu je ovdje riječ, biogradski biskup Bono "nepravedno i lakoumno" oduzeo samostanu crkvu Sv. Kuzme i Damjana na Pašmanu

broader social impact, or whether the troubles for the Croatian Kingdom indeed began when the ruling class clearly concluded that the ruling dynasty would come to an end with the death of Stjepan II.

This is the sentiment that is described only by a historian and chronicler from the 13th century, the above-mentioned Toma, with the statement that "all the issue of the royal line has disappeared". Although it comes much later, his description mirrors the essence of the social experience, one of the "images" that we have mentioned at the beginning, an "image" that in its short description encapsulates all the uncertainty and anxiety that the extinction of the ruling dynasty brought to the world at the watershed between the early and the mature mediaeval period. That is to say that we should keep in mind the fact that in that world the king still had clearly manifested sacred characteristics, that it was generally accepted that "royal blood" had almost supernatural properties, and that the king was the real lynchpin of the entire society, the guarantor of security and peace. It is for this reason that Toma's insistence on that the "disappearance of all the issue of the royal line" was the cause of troubles, appearing as the struggle for power and the many evil deeds that arose from it, convincingly describes the social atmosphere that prevailed in such circumstances. It must be noted, however, that Toma did not personally experience and live through this social situation, but the Hungarian and Croatian Kingdom would soon after his death, already at the end of the 13th century, be embroiled in what we would today label as a "dynastic crisis". And, indeed, everything that numerous contemporary documents reveal as events of the last decade of the 13th century and the first decade of the

(kamo će nešto kasnije biti preseljena cijela samostanska zajednica). No, ni u toj se prigodi oduzimanje crkve samostanu ne povezuje s općim prilikama i eventualnim bezvlašćem kakvo se može naslutiti iz opisa Tome arciđakona.

Znatno više informacija o zbivanjima u razdoblju poslije 1091. godine nudi sličan popis posjeda samostana Sv. Petra u Selu, u omiškom primorju kod Splita, poznat među povjesničarima kao "Supetarski kartular" (Novak-Skok 1952). Valja, međutim, odmah naglasiti kako ni autor(i) ovoga dokumenta nisu imali namjeru zapisivati što se događalo u to doba u Hrvatskoj i potomcima ostaviti informaciju o zbivanjima koja se iz današnje perspektive čine tako važnima. Njihova je namjera bila registrirati način na koji su se stjecale samostanske zemlje, odnosno opisati prijepore koji su nastajali oko samostanskih posjeda. Radeći upravo to, autor(i) su, gotovo nehotično, zapisali i sačuvali od zaborava neke važne činjenice koje bi nam inače ostale nepoznate. S druge strane, međutim, upravo narav cijeloga dokumenta i ograničene ambicije autora razlogom su što na taj način sačuvane informacije ocrtavaju tek dio slike koja nas zanima.

Iz svega što je dosad rečeno o naravi sačuvanih vrela za razdoblje od 1091. do 1102. godine može se izvući jedno važno pitanje – jesu li se doista zbivanja oko kraljevskoga prijestola u tome razdoblju suvremenicima činila toliko nevažnima da nisu našli za potrebno ništa o njima zapisati? Iako ne posve decidiran, odgovor na takav upit mora ipak biti odrečan. Naime, autori dokumenata o kojima je bilo riječi, popisa posjeda dvaju samostana, zapisivali su ono što je za takvu vrst dokumentacije, a riječ je o dokumentima namijenjenim internoj uporabi – samostanskoj administraciji, bilo relevantno. U žarištu njihove pozornosti bile su

14th century seems to be a realisation of Toma's catastrophic image of the death of a ruling dynasty.

Here, however, we should ask the question: To what extent do contemporary documents confirm the "image" drawn much later, in the 13th century and the time after that; namely, was there a conflict concerning supreme power in the Croatian Kingdom after the death of King Stjepan II? Unfortunately, when the question is phrased in this way, it is impossible to answer it simply and with absolute certainty since we lack the sources that could provide such an answer. Here the problem is not in the lack of any sources, but precisely those sources that could explicitly speak about the situation and general conditions in the Croatian Kingdom. So, for example, in the list of estates of the monastery of St. John the Evangelist in Biograd from the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century, a list that forms a part of a great collection of documents ("chartula") from a monastery written in the 14th century, there are no less than thirteen notes concerning the acquisition of land for the monastery in the period when it was led by Abbot Madije, in the period between 1085 and 1095. However, none of these notes provide any information about who was the ruler of the Croatian Kingdom at that time, nor does it give any indication about the prevailing conditions in the country. Only one document from the "chartula", one that dates from 1103, and one which we will return to later, mentions that several years earlier, and therefore at the time we are interested here, the bishop of Biograd Bono had "unjustly and recklessly" taken from the monastery the church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian on the island of Pašman (where the entire monastery community would later move to). However, even here the taking

informacije o tomu kako je i od koga nabavljen pojedini zemljišni posjed, tko ga je eventualno osporavao i na kojoj sudbenoj instanci se takav prijepor rješavao. Druga vrst dokumenata, oni koji su bili namijenjeni širem krugu zainteresiranih pa su time dobivali i drugačiji formalni izgled, ipak su sadržavali mnogo više informacija onoga tipa koji nas ovdje zanima. Takvi su, naime, dokumenti u pravilu trebali biti precizno datirani, i to ne samo kalendarskim datumom, već i navođenjem vladara koji su u to doba vladali. Nažalost, takvih dokumenata iz ovoga razdoblja ima sasvim malo, no time iz naše današnje perspektive važnost informacija koje donose postaje veća.

Što, dakle, govore o prilikama nakon 1091. godine "Supetarski kartular" i ono malo službenih isprava toga doba koje su ostale sačuvane? U razglabanje ćemo poći od ove druge kategorije vrela – službenih dokumenata. Ta je vrst dokumentacije po naravi bitno drugačija od samostanskih popisa posjeda, pa sukladno tomu donosi i drugačije informacije, sa znatno pouzdanijim i preciznim vremenskim orijentirima. Riječ je, zapravo o svega tri dokumenta:

a) pismo ugarskoga kralja Ladislava montekasinskome opatu Oderizu iz 1091. godine (Stipišić-Šamšalović 1967, 197-8);

b) presuda zadarskoga priora Drage iz početka 1092. godine (Novak 1959, 251);

c) darovnica Gotfrida od Melfija za samostan na Tremitima, sastavljena 1093. godine (Šišić 1927, 613).

U pismu koje je kralj Ladislav uputio opatu izvješćuje ga, kao svoga prijatelja, kako je "već stekao gotovo cijelu Slavoniju". Tek nekoliko mjeseci mlađa presuda zapisana u Zadru pojašnjava na što se izričaj "Slavonija" iz kraljeva pisma odnosi i što je bila najizravnija posljedica toga "stjecanja". Naime, datirajući svoju presudu, zadarski prior navodi kako je ona donesena kada je "Vladislav, kralj Panonaca, provalivši u Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo u njemu za kralja postavio svoga nećaka Almoša". Iz ta dva dokumenta, dakle, proizlazi da je već krajem 1091. godine ugarski kralj držao dobar dio Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, odnosno da je novostečene pozicije u tome trenutku namjeravao legalizirati proglašujući svoga kandidata za hrvatskoga kralja. Tako postavljenoj slici valja, međutim, pridodati i navod kneza Gotfrida, koji 1093. godine iznosi kako se svojedobno "podigao" na put u Dalmaciju, ondje boravio izvjesno vrijeme, a potom se vratio s toga pohoda. Nažalost, Gotfridovi su izričaji, koji zapravo objašnjavaju kako je uopće došao u dodir s opatijom na Tremitima, koja mu je jednostavno bila na putu, i vremenski i

away of the church from the monastery is not linked with the general situation and the possible lawlessness that seems to be implied in the description given by Archdeacon Toma.

Significantly more information concerning the events in the period after 1091 is offered by a similar list of the estates of the monastery of St. Peter in Selo in the region of Omiš near Split, known among historians as the "Supetar Chartula" (Novak-Skok, 1952). However, we need to stress right away that not even the author or authors of this document had as their aim to note the contemporary events in Croatia and so leave for posterity information about events that seem so important from today's perspective. Their aim was to register the way in which monastery estates were acquired, in other words to describe the ensuing disputes concerning monastery land. In doing so, the authors have, almost unintentionally, recorded and preserved from oblivion some important facts that would otherwise have remained unknown. However, on the other hand, the nature of the entire document and the authors' limited ambitions are, in fact, the reason that the preserved information describes only a part of the picture that interests us.

From all that we have said so far about the nature of the preserved sources for the period between 1091 and 1102, we can single out one important question – namely, did the events concerning the royal throne in this period seem to contemporaries to be so insignificant that they did not feel the need to record anything that would relate to them? Although not completely adamant, the answer to this question must, nevertheless, be negative. That is to say that the authors of the documents that we have mentioned, the list of estates of two monasteries, recorded that which was relevant for this type of documentation, and here we are dealing with documents that serve internal requirements – the administration of the monasteries. The focus of their attention was information concerning the means, by which individual lands were acquired, the persons that may have challenged this and the court that ruled in such disputes. A second type of document, one intended for a broader circle of interested parties and therefore appearing in a different form, nevertheless included much more information of the type that we are interested in. That is to say that these documents should have been, as a rule, precisely dated, not only with a calendar date, but also with the naming of the rulers that ruled at the time. Unfortunately, there are only a few such documents from this period, but it is precisely because of this that the importance of the information they provide has become all the greater from our perspective.

sadržajno posve neodređeni. Iz njih se ne može zaključiti ni kada je normanski knez išao u "Dalmaciju", ni koliko se u njoj zadržao, a pogotovu ne što je tamo radio. Činjenica, međutim, da je uz svoju normansku titulu kneza (*comes*) rabio i bizantsku dvorsku titulu sebasta navela je povjesničare na zaključak kako je Gotfrid u Dalmaciju došao po nalogu bizantskoga dvora te da je ondje ostao skoro dvije godine kao carski namjesnik u priobalnim gradovima.

No, takav se zaključak čini jednostavno neodrživim kada se dovede u svezu s onim što saznajemo iz popisa posjeda samostana Sv. Petra, za koji među povjesničarima ni danas nema potpunoga slaganja oko načina i okolnosti njegova nastanka. Jedno od tumačenja, koje se ipak čini najuvjerljivijim, polazi od toga da je popis nastao u kasnim 90-im godinama 11. stoljeća. Prema tome tumačenju navodi koje je u registar zapisao ili diktirao utemeljitelj samostana, a koji se odnose na prijepor oko jednoga zemljišnog posjeda koji je on poklonio samostanu, pokazuju da se bar u jednome dijelu Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, na njegovu jugu, pojavio uspješan pretendent na kraljevski prijestol, stanoviti Slavac. Taj je prisvojio kraljevski naslov, putovao zemljom obnašajući kraljevske dužnosti (samostanski popis bilježi upravo njegovu presudu), uza se držao svoga bana i dvorske dužnosnike (Novak-Skok 1952, 215, 223). Vlast mu je sezala u okolicu Splita i dalje na jug, no njegova pozicija u krajevima na sjever od Splita ostaje pokrivena velom mraka nedostatnih vrela. Ono, pak, što se čini važnim naglasiti jest činjenica da navodi iz samostanskoga popisa ne daju preciznije vremenske orijentire za datiranje početka Slavčeve vladavine, pa se ni na koji način ne može zaključiti je li se on kraljem proglasio odmah po Stjepanovoj smrti ili je do toga došlo nešto kasnije. No, s druge strane cjelokupni sadržaj popisa samostanskih posjeda pruža dosta sigurne informacije o podrijetlu novoga kralja. Slavac, naime, nije pripadao kraljevskoj lozi Trpimirovića, kao što najvjerojatnije nije bio ni u srodstvu s kraljem Zvonimirom, ali je ipak pripadao najužem krugu vladajućega sloja tadašnje Hrvatske. Njegov je brat Rusin još za Zvonimirove vladavine obnašao čast "primorskoga hercega" (*dux Marianorum, Morsticus*) sa sijelom u Splitu, braća su imala posjede i u poljičkome primorju, između Splita i Omiša, a Slavac je za bana postavio bratova sina, Petra. Iz ovoga posljednjeg bi se lako moglo zaključiti kako novi kralj nije imao pretjerano širok krug pristaša, pa se morao osloniti na najbliže srodnike.

Iz svega što je rečeno može se, dakle, složiti mozaik gibanja koja su slijedila nakon smrti kralja Stjepana II. Činjenica da je Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo u tome trenutku ostalo bez vla-

What then do the "Supetar Chartula" and the few preserved official documents from that time speak about the situation after 1091? We shall embark upon this discussion starting from the second category of sources – the official documents. By its very nature, this type of documentation is essentially different from the monastery lists of estates, and so it also provides different forms of information, with a significantly more reliable and precise dating framework. Here we are, in fact, dealing with only three documents:

a) The letter from the Hungarian king Ladislas to Oderiz, the abbot of Monte Cassino, from 1091 (Stipišić-Šamšalović, 1967, 197-8);

b) The verdict by Drago, the prior of Zadar, from the beginning of 1092 (Novak, 1959, 251);

c) The bequest by Gottfried of Melfi for the monastery on the Tremiti Islands, drawn up in 1093 (Šišić, 1927, 613).

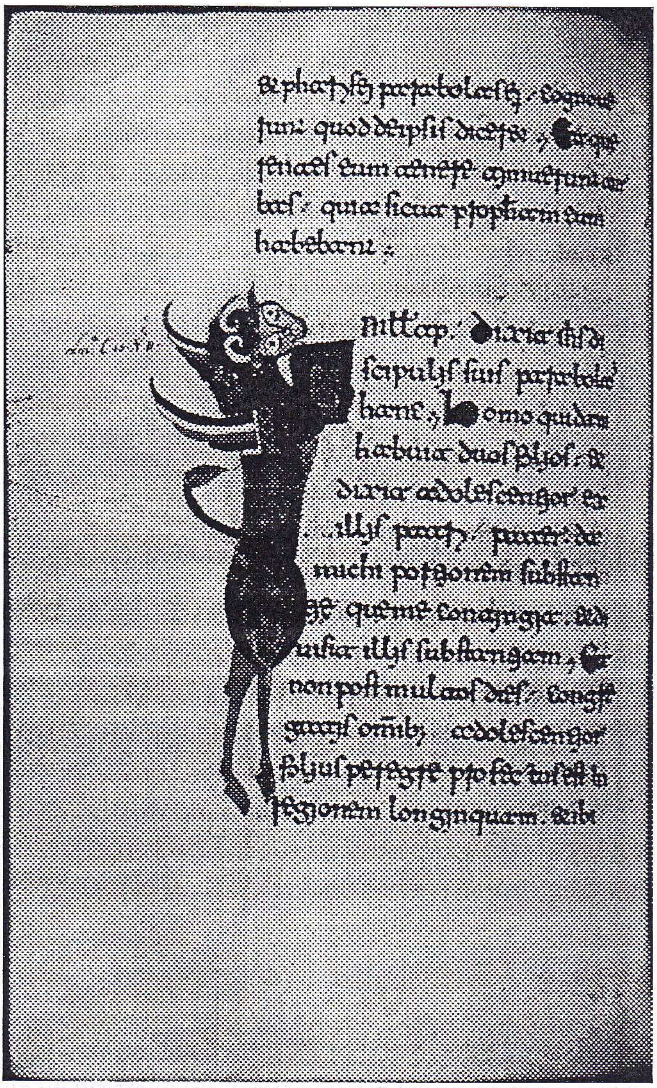
In the letter from Ladislas to the abbot, he informs him, as his friend, that he has "already acquired almost all of Slavonia". Dated only several months earlier, the verdict recorded in Zadar explains what the term "Slavonia" from the king's letter refers to and the immediate consequence of that "acquisition". By this we mean that the prior of Zadar, in dating his verdict, lists that it was made when "Ladislas, king of the Pannonians, had invaded the Croatian Kingdom and installed his nephew Almo as king". From these two documents, then, we can conclude that already at the end of 1091, the Hungarian king held a significant part of the Croatian Kingdom or, better to say, that he had planned to legalise his newly-gained position at that time by proclaiming his candidate as the Croatian king. To this situation, however, we need to add the statement by prince Gottfried, who in 1093 claims that he had "undertaken" a campaign to Dalmatia, where he stayed for a certain period, and then returned. Unfortunately, Gottfried's statements, which, in fact, describe how he came into contact with the abbey on the Tremiti Islands because it was on his way, are both with respect to the time and the content of the campaign quite vague. From them we can discern neither when the Norman prince went to "Dalmatia" nor how long he stayed there, and least of all what he was doing there. However, the fact that, along with his Norman title of prince *(comes)* he also used the Byzantine courtly title of *sebartos* has led historians to conclude that Gottfried came to Dalmatia at the behest of the Byzantine court and that he stayed there almost two years as a regent in the coastal towns.

potvrđuju mnogo kasniji opis prilika iz pera Tome arciđakona, bar što se tiče južnih dijelova Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva. Ovdje svakako na prvome mjestu valja istaknuti tužaljku već spominjanoga zadarskog priora Drage, koji u jednome dokumentu iz 1095. godine, "već starac, u petoj godini moga trećeg priorata", sumira svoje iskustvo tmurnim riječima o "mnogim opasnostima i (gotovo) samrtnim časovima, kojima me je prodrmala surovost naših stanovnika i različitih naroda" (Stipišić-Šamšalović 1967, 205). O kakvim je nevoljama govorio Drago u citiranoj ispravi, otkriva jedan, tek pukim slučajem sačuvan, suvremeni zadarski zapis. Naime, na dvolistu pergamene istrgnutom iz nekoga propalog kodeksa nalazi se prijepis zabilješke o tomu što su opat zadarskoga samostana Sv. Krševana i zadarski gradski dužnosnici na čelu sa spomenutim priorom Dragom poduzeli protiv uzurpatora samostanskoga posjeda na otoku Pašmanu. Zgrožen uzurpacijom posjeda (ovdje se u tonu zapisa prepoznaje redovnička ruka) koji je nekad samostanu dao biskup Prestancije zajedno s bratom Madijem, opat je uspio nagovoriti gradske poglavare na pravu malu pomorsku ekspediciju i demonstraciju sile. Iskrcavši se iz svojih brodica na otoku, opat, gradski poglavari, redovnici i, vjerojatno, mnoštvo drugih građana, ponovno su podigli pogranične stupove samostanskoga posjeda "i nikoga nije bilo tko se usudio ovakvoj odluci (i njezinoj provedbi) usprotiviti ili ju povrijediti" (Stipišić-Šamšalović 1967, 207).

Cilj je, dakle, pohoda bio jasan: demonstracija odlučnosti i sile trebala je uzurpatore, vjerojatno stanovnike samoga otoka, uvjeriti kako iza samostana, kad već nema organizirane kraljevske vlasti koja bi spriječila posezanje za njegovim dobrima, ipak stoji zajednica stanovnika grada koji su spremni braniti interese najvećeg i najvažnijeg gradskog samostana. Potreba, pak, da se interesi samostana štite ovakvim postupcima jasno, iako posredno, daje do znanja da je u Hrvatskome Kraljevstvu zavladao nered i da, jednostavno rečeno, nije bilo onoga društvenog autoriteta koji bi mogao voditi računa o održavanju reda i mira. Takav zaključak jasno potvrđuje dojam koji su o Hrvatskoj stekli zapadnoeuropski križari koji su prošli kroz ove krajeve odlazeći 1096. na prvu križarsku vojnu. Opisi toga putovanja izašli iz pera Rajmunda od Agilesa i Vilima Tirskoga, i samih sudionika pohoda, ne ostavljaju mjesta dvojbi. Obojica govore o zemlji, koju jedan zove "Sklavonijom" a drugi "Dalmacijom", u kojoj nema nikoga s kim su križari mogli ugovoriti uvjete prolaza i postaviti parametre ponašanja u dodiru s domaćim pučanstvom. Kroz Hrvatsku su, inače, križari putovali u zimu, i to puna tri tjedna, prolazeći od Istre do Skadra. Pun kontrast prilikama koje su u to doba vladale u zemlji ocrtava Rajmund od Agilesa

at the behest of Byzantium, but it seems that his campaign had no permanent effect, except, perhaps, the plunder of coastal towns. Finally, in Croatia itself there was at least one pretender to the royal throne, a pretender who managed to secure power and exert his authority in a part of the country. And so it seems that already in 1092 the country had two kings, each of them controlling one of its parts. Viewed from Zadar in the first months of 1092, it seemed that the question of ruler was solved in the figure of the Hungarian prince Almo, while in Split, probably at the same time, the situation seemed solved by Slavac's adoption of the royal title. However, as time would show, all this would come to nothing. Did Ladislas abandon the idea of leaving a separate king in Croatia, and if so, in what circumstances and for what reasons, we shall probably never know. Problems on that side arose from the rivalry of Ladislas' nephews, Almo and Koloman, who equally yearned to succeed their uncle. Since the king decided to make Koloman a bishop and so direct him to an ecclesiastical career, it seemed that Almo was certain to inherit the royal crown (Makk, 1989, 11). But immediately before his death, Ladislas had second thoughts and demanded that Koloman, who was at the time in exile in Poland, return home. This is precisely what Koloman did (Kosztolnyk, 1987, 21-2). The struggle for the throne between the two brothers would continue for a whole year, after which Koloman gained the advantage, and it was this Koloman who would finally in 1102 be crowned in Biograd with the Croatian crown. On the other hand, we shall probably never know whether Slavac attempted to extend his authority and have his title accepted in the entire Croatian Kingdom, and if so in what way, nor is it likely that we shall ever learn about the circumstances in which his rule ended. If, however, we are to believe the Hungarian chronicler Simon of Keza from the second half of the 13th century, who claims that in 1097 a man named Petar ruled a part of Croatia from his seat in Knin, we could nevertheless conclude something about the end of Slavac's reign. In this case (if we believe Simon's statement), we can be fairly certain in assuming that here we are dealing with the same Petar, the son of Slavac's brother Rusin, who had acted along with the king, his uncle, as his *ban* (we shall return to the circumstances in which he died later on).

However, that which is certain is that (the rare) documents from the middle of the last decade of the 11th century no longer mention either Almo, Slavac or Petar, but they greatly confirm the later description of the situation given by the Archdeacon Toma, at least as far as the southern parts of the Croatian Kingdom are concerned. Here we should



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opisom dolaska križara u Skadar, gdje ih je dočekao dukljanski kralj Bodin. S njime je vođa pohoda, grof Rajmund IV. od Toulusea, po kroničarevu navodu "više puta potvrdio bratstvo, davši mu mnogo toga, kako bi vojska sigurno mogla kupovati i tražiti (od domaćega pučanstva) ono što joj je potrebno". Valja svakako ovdje pripomenuti kako su na isti način prolazak ugovarali i oni križari koji su prema Konstantinopolu putovali Podunavljem, s tim da su na tome pravcu pregovarali s tada novim ugarskim kraljem, Kolomanom.

No, i to valja posebice naglasiti, križari su svoje dojmove stekli prolazeći južnim dijelom Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, pa je tako i kroničarima koji su opisivali njihovo putovanje ostalo nepoznato ono što se događalo u sjevernim krajevima. Tu je, pak, situacija, po svemu sudeći, bila posve drugačija. Naime, ovdje su se vlast i autoritet ugarskoga kralja, uspostavljeni

certainly first of all mention the dirge by Drago, prior of Zadar, who in a document dated from 1095, written when he was "already an old man, in the fifth year of his third tenure as prior", sums up his experience with the dark words concerning "the many dangers and (almost) fatal moments, brought upon me by the cruelty of our townspeople and the various peoples" (Stipišić-Šamšalović, 1967, 205). The troubles Drago was referring to in this document have been revealed by a contemporary document from Zadar that was preserved by pure chance. This was a double page of parchment torn out from a ruined codex that contains a copy of a note stating that the abbot of the monastery of St. Krševan in Zadar together with town officials from Zadar led by the above-mentioned prior Drago undertook an action against the usurpers of the monastery estate on the island of Pašman. Horrified by the usurpation of the estate (in the tone we can discern that it was written by a monk) that was once given to the monastery by bishop Prestancije together with brother Madije, the abbot, managed to convince the town fathers to undertake a true, albeit small, naval expedition and demonstration of force. Having landed from their boats on the island, the abbot, the town officials, monks and, probably, many other townspeople restored the boundary stones of the monastery's estate "and there was no one who would dare challenge such a decision (and its execution) or to encroach upon it" (Stipišić-Šamšalović, 1967, 207).

The aim of the expedition was therefore clear: a demonstration of resolution and force designed to convince the usurpers, probably the inhabitants of the island, that in circumstances where there is no organised royal power that would prevent the seizure of the monastery's land, the monastery remains backed by the community of the townspeople who were ready to defend the interests of the largest and most important monastery in the town. On the other hand, the need to protect the interests of the monastery in this fashion clearly, albeit indirectly, show that there was disorder in the Croatian Kingdom and that, to put it simply, there was no social authority that could look after matters like maintaining peace and order. This conclusion is clearly confirmed by the impression that western European crusaders gained about Croatia when they travelled through these parts in 1096 on their way to the First Crusade. The descriptions of their travels by Raymond of Agiles and William of St. Thierry, who both took part in the campaign, leave no doubt about this matter. They both speak about a country that one calls "Sclavonia" and the other "Dalmatia", where there was no one with whom the crusaders could agree as to the conditions of passage and to lay down the rules of behaviour in

pohodom 1091. godine, uspjeli održati, bez obzira na to što se u međuvremenu događalo s Almoševom kraljevskom titulom. Najsigurnija potvrda takva stanja, odnosno stvarnoga i učinkovitog kraljevskog autoriteta u ovim krajevima, nalazi se u organizaciji vjerskoga života što ju je Ladislav proveo za svoga života. Današnju istočnu Slavoniju, savsko-dravsko međurječje od Papuka i Požege na istok, kralj je u pogledu crkvene organizacije podredio biskupiji u Pečuju, koju je nešto ranije sam ustrojio. Krajeve, pak, od Papuka i Požege na zapad, do granice s Njemačkim Carstvom, te na jug do Zrinske i Petrove gore, dokle je na toj strani sezao njegov stvarni autoritet, odlučio je podložiti novome biskupu. Njegovu je rezidenciju smjestio uz već postojeću županijsku utvrdu na mjestu današnjega Zagreba, a za katedralu je odredio crkvu koju je zatekao na mjestu današnje katedrale. Njezini su ostaci izašli na vidjelo prigodom radova u katedrali 1980. godine, a u novije se vrijeme s jakim razlozima pomišlja na mogućnost da je tu ranije stajao (benediktinski) samostan (Ivandija 1981; Stošić 1994). K tomu je kralj odmah obilato nadario novu biskupiju i njezina poglavara zemljišnim posjedima. Na taj je način 1094. godine (Margetić 1994) udaren temelj organizaciji Zagrebačke biskupije, koju će u organizacijskome i svakom drugom smislu prvi uobličiti iz Češke dovedeni biskup imenom Duh. Sve što je Ladislav uradio oko organizacije Zagrebačke biskupije saznajemo nažalost iz kasnijih dokumenata, od kojih je najmlađi nastao tek 1134. godine, dakle punih četrdeset godina nakon događaja o kojima se u njemu govori. Koliko se iz tih sačuvanih kasnijih vrela i uopće stanja biskupije može razaznati, čini se kako je jedan od glavnih ciljeva cijeloga pothvata bio gušenje zatečenih tradicija bogoslužja na starocrkvenoslavenskom jeziku – glagoljanja (Ančić 1998, 237-9). Najvjerojatnije kao rezultat upravo takvih nastojanja, Zagrebačka je biskupija ostala jedna od rijetkih europskih biskupija u kojoj nije zabilježeno postojanje niti jednoga benediktinskog samostana (čini se vrlo vjerojatnom pretpostavka kako su i ovdje, kao i na jugu Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, upravo benediktinski samostani bili rasadište glagoljaštva, pa su kao takvi stradali u "čišćenju od grijeha idolatrije", kako je postupak označen u kasnijim vrelima). Početni impuls neprijateljstva spram glagoljaštva ostat će zadugo obilježjem ukupne atmosfere koja je vladala u biskupiji, pa će u tome smislu promjene donijeti tek 15. stoljeće. Uza sve rečeno valja, međutim, primijetiti kako uspostava nove biskupije u Zagrebu i podčinjavanje današnje istočne Slavonije biskupiji u Pečuju nisu prošli nezamijećeni, a vjerojatno i bez prosvjeda, suvremenika u ostatku Hrvatske. Jasno o tomu govori činjenica da je početkom ožujka 1095. u Zadru održan crkveni sinod, na

contact with the indigenous population. The crusaders travelled through Croatia in the winter, for three full weeks, from Istria to Scutari. Raymond of Agiles in his account contrasts the situation in the country with the arrival of the crusaders in Scutari, where they were met by King Bodin of Doclea. According to the author of the chronicle, the leader of the expeditionary force, count Raymond IV of Toulouse, had "repeatedly assured the king of their brotherly relations, providing him with gifts that would assure that the army might purchase and seek (from the local population) whatever it required". We should note here that the crusaders that travelled to Constantinople through the Danube plain had also negotiated their passage in the same way, but there they negotiated with the new Hungarian king, Koloman.

However, and this needs to be especially stressed, the crusaders gained their impressions passing through the southern part of the Croatian Kingdom, so that even the chroniclers that have described their journey did not know what was happening in the northern part. It would seem that the situation there was quite different. The authority and the rule of the Hungarian king, established in 1091 managed to remain secure, in spite of all the events that unfolded with respect to Almo's royal title. The surest confirmation of this situation, namely the real and effective authority of the king in these parts, can be found in the organisation of religious life that Ladislas established during his lifetime. The present-day eastern Slavonia, the region between the Sava and Drava rivers from Papuk and Požega towards the east, was subordinated by the king with respect to the ecclesiastical organisation to the diocese in Pecs, which was set up by the king some years earlier. The region to the west, however, from Papuk and Požega to the west, to the border with the German Empire, and to the south, to the mountains of Zrinska and Petrova Gora, the limit to which his real authority extended, was subordinated to a new bishop. He made his residence in the existing county fortification on the spot of present-day Zagreb, and for his cathedral he chose the church that was standing on the site of the present-day cathedral. The remains of this church were unearthed during work in the cathedral in 1980, and recently there have emerged strong reasons to suppose that this was the site of an earlier (Benedictine) abbey (Ivandija, 1981; Stošić, 1994). Furthermore, the king immediately generously bestowed lands upon the diocese and its bishop. In this way in 1094 (Margetić, 1994) the foundations were set for the organisation of the Diocese of Zagreb, which took proper shape under Duh, a bishop brought in from Bohemia. Unfortunately, we have learned everything that Ladislas did with respect to the Zagreb

kojemu su sudjelovali splitski nadbiskup, biskupi zadarski, rapski, krčki, trogirski, biogradski i ninski, te opati brojnih benediktinskih samostana. Akti sinoda nisu nažalost sačuvani, pa tako ne znamo ništa ni o raspravama vođenim na njemu, a o sazivanju sinoda obaviješteni smo zahvaljujući tek činjenici da su okupljeni crkveni velikodostojnici posebnom ispravom potvrdili sloboštine koje su samostanu benediktinki Sv. Marije u Zadru dale tamošnje gradske vlasti (Stipišić-Šamšalović 1967, 204). No, teško je povjerovati da je razlog sazivanju sinoda, za koji se u sačuvanoj ispravi izrijekom veli da je imao značajke "općega" okupljanja cijele crkvene provincije Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, mogao biti bilo što drugo do Ladislavove odluke o ustrojstvu crkve na području koje je izravno nadzirao. Te su odluke, naime, najizravnije zadirale u prava Splitske nadbiskupije, budući da je do vremena kada je utemeljena Zagrebačka biskupija splitski nadbiskup, kako to navodi već često spominjani Toma arciđakon, imao jurisdikciju u krajevima sve do rijeke Drave. No, ako su, kao što najvjerojatnije i jesu, okupljeni crkveni oci i prosvjedovali protiv kraljevih odluka i postupaka, to nije imalo nikakva učinka, to prije što je samo nekoliko mjeseci kasnije kralj umro.

Ladislavova smrt i uspon Kolomana na ugarski prijestol nisu ni u čemu bitno promijenili stanje u Slavoniji, kao uostalom ni u južnim dijelovima Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva. Tek 1097. godine, pošto se Koloman učvrstio na prijestolu, a možda u svezi i s prolaskom križara i vijestima koje su o tomu stigle do kraljevskoga dvora, počinju se oko Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva otvarati novi zapleti. Kolomanov interes za prilike na jugu bio je dvojake naravi – s jedne strane, dakako, uspostava kraljevske vlasti i autoriteta u krajevima koji su ostali izvan Zagrebačke biskupije ostali su visjeti kao nedovršen "posao"; s druge strane, sustav savezništava koja je uspostavio novi kralj doveo ga je u tabor papinskih pristaša, što je bilo i praktično otjelotvoreno sporazumom o ženidbi princezom Buzilom, kćerkom južnoitalskoga normanskog kneza Rogerija Gviskarda. Kada je kraljeva buduća žena u proljeće 1097. godine krenula brodom iz južne Italije prema Hrvatskoj, valjalo se pobrinuti i za njezin siguran prolazak. No, u tome se trenutku pokazalo kako Koloman nije bio jedini zainteresiran za kontrolu nad Hrvatskom ili, posve precizno, za kontrolu nad hrvatskom obalom Jadrana. U svibnju 1097. godine, kada se princeza Buzila ukrcavala na brod koji će je odvesti na istočnu obalu Jadrana, uzduž iste te obale plovila je i mletačka flota. Doduše, veličina i snaga te flote ostaju nepoznanica, no posve je sigurno da je ona bila takva da je postigla osnovni cilj s kojim se i otputila iz Venecije. Brojnost i snaga flote bila je, naime, dovoljna da

Diocese from later documents, the earliest of them dating from 1134, a full forty years after the events it describes. As far as we can conclude from these preserved documents and the state of the diocese in general, it seems that one of the main aims of this whole endeavour was the suppression of existing traditions of liturgies in the Old Church Slavonic language – *glagoljanje* (Ančić, 1998; 237-9). Most probably as a result of these efforts, the Zagreb Diocese remained one of the few dioceses in Europe for which there is no record of any Benedictine abbeys (it seems very probable that here, as in the south of the Croatian Kingdom, the Benedictine abbeys were the hotbed of Glagolitism, and therefore suffered in the "purging of the sin of idolatry", as the procedure was called in later sources). The initial impulse of hostility towards Glagolitism would remain for a long time a feature of the overall atmosphere that prevailed in the diocese, and changes with respect to that would occur only with the advent of the 15th century. However, in spite of all this, we should note that the establishment of the new Diocese of Zagreb and the subordination of eastern Slavonia to the diocese in Pecs did not take place without being noted by contemporaries in the rest of Croatia and without drawing protest. This is clearly borne out by the fact that a church synod was convened at the beginning of March 1095 in Zadar with the participation of the archbishop of Split, the bishops of Zadar, Rab, Krk, Trogir, Biograd and Nin, as well as the abbots of numerous Benedictine abbeys. Unfortunately, the acts of the synod have not been preserved, so that we know nothing about the discussions that took place, and we only know that the synod was convened only by virtue of the fact that the gathered prelates had confirmed the liberties provided to the Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary in Zadar by the town authorities by issuing a special document (Stipišić-Šamšalović; 1967, 204). However, it is hard to believe that the reason for the convening of the synod – which, as is expressly stated in the document, had characteristics of a "general" convening of the entire ecclesiastical province of the Croatian Kingdom – could have been anything but Ladislas' decision concerning the organisation of the church in the area that he directly controlled. In other words, his decisions had most directly affected the rights of the Archdiocese of Split, since until the Zagreb Diocese was established, the archbishop of Split had jurisdiction in areas south of the river Drava, as is stated by the frequently mentioned Archdeacon Toma. However, if the prelates had protested against the king's decisions and actions, as is most likely they did, this had no effect, all the more so because the king died just several months later.

stanovnicima gradova na hrvatskoj obali demonstrira odlučnost mletačkoga dužda u ostvarivanju nadzora nad tamošnjim prilikama. Rezultat toga pohoda, pak, poznat je danas temeljem dviju isprava napisanih tijekom svibnja iste godine i sačuvanih u jednome kodeksu iz 16. stoljeća (Stipišić-Šamšalović 1967, 207-8). Isprave registriraju čin polaganja svečane prisege gradskih vlasti Splita i Trogira, pokazujući kako je pohod bio tako osmišljen da demonstracijom sile omogući mletačkim predstavnicima povoljnu poziciju u pregovorima s gradskim vlastima. U takvim se pregovorima, međutim, vodilo računa i o snazi druge pregovaračke strane, gradskih vlasti, što se jasno zrcali u sačuvanim tekstovima položenih prisega. Tako su splitski priori, sa svojim podanicima, prisegom obećali da će buduće pohode mletačke flote pomagati, pod obvezom kazne od 1000 dukata, s dva manja ili jednim većim brodom. Trogirski su predstavnici, a radilo se o biskupu i priorima, svoju prisegu formulirali u posve drugačijem tonu i duhu. Iako tekst dokumenta nije u cijelosti sačuvan, jasna se razlika u odnosu prema splitskoj prisezi uočava već u činjenici da Trogirani govore o "skrbi" i "zaštiti" kakvu im može pružiti takvo gospodstvo kakvo je ono duždevo. Sukladno uporabi takvih pojmova, i obveze Trogirana spram dužda bile su drugačije naravi od splitskih, pa se u dokumentu govori o "dobrohotnome pristanku" mletačkoga poglavara kao uvjetu za poduzimanje nekih koraka ili radnji.

Iako su, dakle, obveze nametnute od strane mletačkih predstavnika gradovima Splitu i Trogiru bile različite, iz čega se posve opravdano može zaključiti kako se nije radilo o stvarnome podčinjavanju duždovoj vlasti, do čega će zapravo, osim u slučaju Zadra i nekih otočnih komuna, u punome smislu doći tek početkom 15. stoljeća, pohod iz 1097. godine ipak je označio jednu vrst prekretnice u odnosima Venecije spram istočnojadranske obale. Naime, sačuvane prisege iz te godine prvi su dokumenti uopće u kojima se za dužda koristi nova titula u koju sada ulazi "Dalmacija *ili* Hrvatska" (*gloriosus dux Venetie atque Dalmatie siue Chroacie*). Uporaba takve titule, čije su podrijetlo i utemeljenje u historiografiji još uvijek predmet spora, jasno je iskazivala ambicije koje će trajno dužda učiniti suparnikom, a vrlo često i otvorenim protivnikom i neprijateljem ugarsko-hrvatskoga kralja. Oskudna sačuvana vrela ne otkrivaju je li u svibnju 1097. došlo do "bliskoga susreta" mletačke flote, odnosno njezinih vođa, i ugarskih snaga koje su upravo u to doba prispjele u Biograd, očekujući tu brodovlje na kojemu je trebala doputovati princeza Buzila. No, bez obzira na to je li tada bilo stvarnoga fizičkog susreta, pa čak i dodira između dviju vojski, upravo je u tom trenutku

Ladislas' death and the rise of Koloman to the Hungarian throne essentially had no impact on the situation in Slavonia or in the southern parts of the Croatian Kingdom. It was only in 1097, when Koloman had secured his position on the throne, and perhaps in relation to the passage of the crusaders and the news that reached the royal court, that new imbroglios emerged with respect to the Croatian Kingdom. Koloman's interest in the situation in the south was twofold – on the one hand, naturally, was the establishment of royal power and authority in lands that remained outside the Zagreb Diocese that remained "unfinished business"; on the other hand, the network of alliances that the new king forged led him to the camp of the papal supporters, which was practically embodied in the agreement to marry princess Buzila, the daughter of the Norman duke Roger Guiscard from southern Italy. In the spring of 1097, when the king's future bride sailed from southern Italy towards Croatia, the king had to ensure her safe passage. However, Koloman was not the only one interested in controlling Croatia at that time, or to be more precise, he was not the only one interested in controlling the Croatian coast of the Adriatic. In May of 1097, when princess Buzila embarked on the ship that would carry her to the eastern coast of the Adriatic, the Venetian fleet was there. Although it must be said that the size and power of that fleet is not known, it is fairly certain that it was such that it achieved the basic aim with which it sailed from Venice. That is to say that the size and power of the fleet was sufficient to demonstrate to the people in the towns on the Croatian coast the determination of the doge of Venice in achieving control over the situation there. We learn about the results of this expedition from two documents written in May of that same year that have been preserved in a codex from the 16th century (Stipišić-Šamšalović, 1967, 207-8). The documents register the act of pledging allegiance on the part of the town authorities of Split and Trogir, showing that the expedition was aimed at a demonstration of force that would provide the Venetian representatives a favourable position in negotiations with town authorities. However, the negotiations also took into account the strength of the other party, the town authorities, and this is clearly evident in the preserved texts of their pledges. The priors of Split, along with their subjects, promised under oath that they would support, under penalty of a 1000 ducat fine, future expeditions of the Venetian fleet with two smaller or one larger vessel. The representatives of Trogir, the bishop and priors, formulated their oath in a very different tone and spirit. Although the text of the document has not been preserved in its entirety, there is a clear difference in relation postavljena scena na kojoj će se više od tri stoljeća voditi borba za gospodstvo nad istočnom obalom Jadrana.

Konačno, pak, postavljanje te scene omogućio je pohod koji je ugarske snage doveo do Biograda, pri čemu je upravo tim pohodom, kako se čini, eliminiran i posljednji ostatak organiziranoga oblika otpora ambicijama ugarskoga kralja. Informacije o tome sačuvane su nažalost tek u jednom mnogo mlađem tekstu, već spominjanoj kronici Šimuna de Keze iz druge polovice 13. stoljeća (Szentpétery I, 1937, 182), a potom gotovo doslovno ponovljene u djelu iz 14. stoljeća, koje historičari poznaju pod dvostrukim imenom – *Ugarska kronika sastavljena u 14. stoljeću* ili *Bečka ilustrirana kronika* (Szentpétery I, 1937, 433). Teško da će se ikad s punom sigurnošću moći ustvrditi je li ugarski dvorski kroničar doista raspolagao relevantnim i preciznim informacijama o vojnome pohodu koji se odvijao skoro dva stoljeća prije no što je on pisao svoje djelo. Izvjesno je, međutim, da je stvarni cilj pohoda u danome trenutku mogao biti prije svega osiguranje puta princeze Buzile od Biograda do njezina budućeg kraljevskog supruga. Samo predmetom više ili manje uvjerljivog nagađanja može biti pitanje je li u tome trenutku stvarno u Kninu stolovao stanoviti Petar, koji je koristio titulu "kralja Hrvatske", kako to tvrdi Šimun de Keza. Ako doista jest, onda se najvjerojatnijim čini da je to bio isti onaj Petar koji se spominje kao ban u pratnji kralja Slavca, dakle sin nekadašnjega "pomorskog vojvode" Rusina, koji je kraljevski naslov naslijedio od svoga strica. Slabost toga pretpostavljenoga kralja, bez obzira na uzroke koji su stajali iza toga, jasno se očitovala prethodne zime, prigodom prolaska križara kroz Hrvatsku. U svjetlu neodlučnosti i nemoći koje je tada demonstrirao ostaje utoliko nejasnije što ga je moglo ponukati da se sada, u proljeće 1097. godine, odluči na sukob s ugarskom vojskom koja je išla u Biograd. Ukoliko je doista postojao "kralj Petar" i ukoliko je on ušao u sukob s ugarskom vojskom, onda je i ishod toga sukoba, kako ga predstavlja ugarski kroničar, posve sukladan dojmu o slabosti i nesigurnosti toga kralja, izvedenom iz ponašanja spram križara. Petar ne samo da je izgubio bitku s ugarskim odredom, već je u tome porazu, prema Šimunu de Kezi, izgubio i život te time postao i posljednji domaći kralj Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva i jedan od rijetkih srednjovjekovnih kraljeva koji je poginuo na bojnome polju. Sicilski kroničar Gotfrid Malaterra, koji opisuje odlazak Buzile iz Italije i dolazak u Biograd (Rački 1877, 478), spominje doduše veliki vojni odred od 5000 ljudi, pod zapovijedanjem stanovitoga kneza Vinkurija (povjesničari se slažu da je riječ o osobi pravoga imena Merkurije), koji je došao u hrvatski Biograd i princezu potom otpratio do ugarskog Stolnog Biograda (Székesfehérvar). Iako

to the oath taken in Split, and this is evident in the fact that the representatives of Trogir speak about the "care" and "protection" that can be offered by a lord of high standing like the doge of Venice. In line with the use of such terms, the obligations of the people of Trogir were quite different from those of Split, so that the document speaks about the "benevolent agreement" on the part of the Venetian doge as a condition for undertaking certain measures or actions.

Therefore, although the obligations imposed by the Venetian representatives on the towns of Split and Trogir were different, from which we can be justified in deducing that there was no real subordination to the doge's authority, a situation that would not ensue in the full sense of the term until the beginning of the 15th century (except in the case of Zadar and some island communes), the expedition in 1097 nevertheless marked a form of a watershed in the relations between Venice and the east Adriatic coast. Specifically, the preserved oaths from that year are the first documents in which the doge is addressed by a new title that now includes "Dalmatia *or* Croatia" *(gloriosus dux Venetie atque Dalmatie siue Chroacie).* The use of this title, whose origin and foundation in historiography are still a matter of contention, clearly presented the ambitions that would permanently make the doge a rival, and frequently an open adversary and enemy of the Hungarian and Croatian king. The scarce preserved sources do not reveal whether there was a "close encounter" in May of 1097 between the Venetian fleet and the Hungarian forces that had arrived in Biograd at the time, expecting the ships with the princess Buzila. However, regardless of the fact whether there was any actual physical meeting or even contact between the two armies, it was at that moment that the scene was set for three centuries of struggle for supremacy over the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

However, the setting of this scene was enabled by the expedition that brought the Hungarian forces to Biograd, whereby this very expedition had, it seems, eliminated even the last remnants of organised resistance to the ambitions of the Hungarian king. Unfortunately, information concerning this has been preserved only in a much more recent text, the above-mentioned chronicle by Simon of Keza from the second half of the 13th century (Szentpétery I, 1937, 182), and was then almost literally repeated in a work from the 14th century that historians know under two names – as *The Hungarian Chronicle Drawn Up In the 14th Century* or *The Viennese Illustrated Chronicle* (Szentpétery I, 1937, 433). It is difficult to say with any certainty whether the Hungarian court chronicler indeed had at his disposal relevant and pre-

je Gotfrid svoj tekst gotovo sigurno temeljio na nekoj vrsti izvješća onih koji su pratili princezu (a u pratnji je, navodno, bilo čak 300 ljudi), iz činjenice da kod njega nema ni riječi o nekom eventualnom sukobu Merkurijevih snaga pri dolasku pred princezu ne bi, međutim, trebalo izvlačiti nikakve zaključke. Sicilskoga kroničara ionako nisu zanimale prilike u Ugarskoj već isključivo princezino vjenčanje, koje je svojim sjajem samo uzdizalo slavu normanskoga kneza a njegova gospodara, Rogerija, pa stoga nije ni čudo što je propustio notirati eventualnu Merkurijevu pobjedu na putu u Biograd. Ostaje, dakle, zaključiti: ukoliko je doista postojao kralj Petar, koji je izgubio bitku i život u sukobu s ugarskim odredom što je išao po princezu Buzilu u proljeće 1097. godine, nije bila riječ o pohodu planiranom s ciljem odsudnoga sukoba oko Hrvatskog Kraljevstva; mogla je to biti tek slučajna bitka, u kojoj je kralj, koji je iz ovih ili onih razloga jedva nadzirao stanje tek u dijelu Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, zbog nepripremljenosti, slučaja, ili nekoga nepoznatog razloga, izgubio i kraljevstvo i život.

Eventualni poraz i smrt kralja Petra samo su pojednostavili borbu oko vlasti i nadzora nad Hrvatskim Kraljevstvom. Vrela koja bi govorila što se nakon burnoga proljeća 1097. dalje događalo nažalost nema, sve do vremena kada je problem definitivno razriješen Kolomanovom krunidbom u Biogradu. Doduše, u istome onom kodeksu iz 16. stoljeća u kojemu su sačuvane prisege Splićana i Trogirana postoji i prijepis jednoga pisma što ga je kralj Koloman uputio duždu Vitalu Michielu (Rački 1877, 479-80). Pismo sadržava i tekst kraljeve prisege na prijateljstvo i savez s duždem, no i rečenicu koja govori kako je to prijateljstvo stajalo na vrlo klimavim nogama. Naime, nakon teksta prisege Koloman dodaje rečenicu: "Kod svojih velikaša i starješina zamijetio sam sumnju trebam li Te oslovljavati kao vladara (dužda) Hrvatske i Dalmacije". Nastavljajući misao dalje, kralj predlaže kako bi trebalo točno utvrditi što pripada dvojici vladara kao naslijeđe njihovih pređa. Oko datiranja ovoga pisma ne postoji među povjesničarima sloga, te se ono stavlja okvirno u razdoblje od 1098. do 1101. godine. U svjetlu, pak, činjenice da je Koloman 1102. godine pregnuo organizirati poseban krunidbeni ceremonijal u Biogradu te da je oko ostvarenja toga nauma uložio dosta energije i sredstava, čini se vrlo vjerojatnim upravo ono tumačenje koje i pisanje ovoga pisma stavlja u 1101. godinu. K tomu valja posebice naglasiti kako i sam čin krunidbe dobiva svoj puni smisao upravo u okviru prijepora s duždom oko prava na Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo, iako pri njegovu razglabanju ne bi valjalo zanemariti ni nutarnje razloge koji su kralja tjerali na takav čin.

cise information concerning the military expedition that took place almost two centuries before he wrote his work. It is certain, however, that the true aim of the expedition at that given moment was primarily to secure the passage of princess Buzila from Biograd to her future royal husband. We can only conjecture, in more or less convincing fashion, whether at that moment there was a Petar who actually ruled from Knin, and who used the title "king of Croatia", as Simon of Keza states. If there was, then it seems most probable that this was the same Petar who was mentioned as the *ban* in the entourage of King Slavac, namely the son of the former "coastal duke" Rusin, who inherited the royal title from his uncle. The weakness of this presumed king, regardless of the causes that led to this state, was evident in the previous winter, during the passage of the crusaders through Croatia. In the light of the indecision and helplessness that he demonstrated at the time, it is all the more unclear what could have moved him now, in the spring of 1097, to enter into a conflict with the Hungarian army that was headed for Biograd. If there really was a "King Petar" and if he entered into a conflict with the Hungarian army, then the outcome of this battle, as presented by the Hungarian chronicler is quite in line with the impression of that king's weakness and insecurity, as can be deduced from his attitude towards the crusaders. Petar did not only lose the battle against the Hungarian force, but had also in that defeat, according to Simon of Keza, lost his life and thus become the last indigenous king of the Croatian Kingdom and one of the rare mediaeval kings who lost their life on the battlefield. Although we should note that the Sicilian chronicler Gottfried Malaterra, who describes Buzila's departure from Italy and her arrival at Biograd (Rački, 1877, 478), mentions a large military force of some 5000 men, under the command of a Duke Vincurio (historians are in agreement that his real name was Mercurio), who came to Biograd and escorted the princess to the Hungarian town of Székesfehérvar. Although Gottfried almost certainly based his text on some form of report by those in the princess' entourage (and she was apparently accompanied by 300 people), the fact that he makes no mention of a possible battle involving Mercurio's forces on coming to meet the princess should not lead us to draw any conclusions. The Sicilian chronicler was not, in any case, interested in the situation in Hungary but only in the princess' wedding, whose splendour exalted the glory of the Norman duke, his master, Roger, so that it is no wonder that he failed to mention Mercurio's possible victory on the way to Biograd. We can therefore conclude the following: if there actually was a King Petar, who lost the battle and his life in opposing the Hungarian

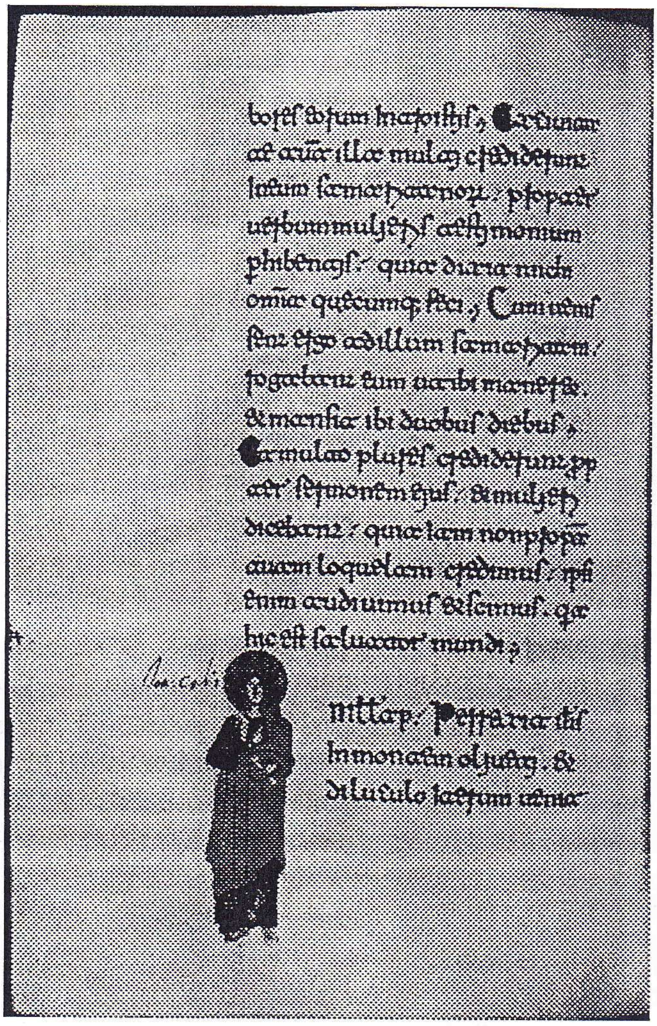
Pri tomu valja upozoriti kako još od vremena kada se uz otvoreni sukob s bratom uspeo do kraljevskoga prijestola Koloman nije uspijevao mirno vladati, iako je Almoš 1096. godine za utjehu dobio hercešku čast, dio kraljevstva na upravu i mjesto odmah uz kralja u društvenom životu zemlje. Tako je, primjerice, 1097. godine, nakon pobjede nad kraljem Petrom i kraljeva vjenčanja s Buzilom, došlo do izbijanja otvorenoga neprijateljstva među braćom, što je eskaliralo do točke kada su se kod Várkonya na Tisi našle jedna naspram druge vojske kralja i hercega (Makk 1989, 13). U tome je trenutku vojni sukob izbjegnut u posljednjem času, no bratske razmirice nisu time bile okončane, a ambiciozni Almoš posve sigurno nije bio oduševljen kada je Buzila kralju rodila sinove Ladislava i Stjepana oko 1100. godine. Sukob među braćom neće se okončati zapravo sve do trenutka kada je 1115. godine Koloman, nakon još jednoga neuspjela Almoševa pokušaja da se dočepa krune, odlučio oslijepiti i brata i njegova sina Belu, te ih tako trajno onesposobiti za obnašanje vlasti (Makk 1989, 16). U takvu, dakle, kontekstu valja promatrati i Kolomanovu odluku o krunidbi hrvatskom krunom, pri čemu ne bi trebalo zaboraviti kako je još 1091. godine Ladislav proglasio Almoša kraljem Hrvatske. Tom prigodom svakako nije održan prigodni i uobičajeni ceremonijal krunidbe, a ne zna se je li se Almoš ikada stvarno pozivao na tada dobivenu kraljevsku titulu. No, bez obzira na to, čini se kako je Koloman smatrao da ima dobrih razloga obaviti svečani ceremonijal krunidbe hrvatskom krunom, a vjerojatno je tom prigodom posebno okrunjen za hrvatskoga kralja i njegov mlađi sin Stjepan, koji se kao takav ("naš kralj" - *rex noster*) spominje u svečanoj pjesmi pohvalnici (*laudae*) što se pjevala u svečanim prigodama u zadarskim crkvama (Smičiklas II, 392).

Bilo kako bilo, ostvarenje zamisli o posebnoj krunidbi otkriva ponešto i o tomu kako je taj čin izgledao prije krunidbe kralja Zvonimira 1075. godine, o kojoj se inače dosta zna zahvaljujući činjenici da je sačuvana kraljeva krunidbena prisega položena tom prigodom pred papinskim legatom (Stipišić-Šamšalović 1967, 139-41). Zvonimirova je krunidba, naime, obavljena u crkvi Sv. Petra u Solinu posebnim insignijama kraljevske vlasti (stijeg, mač, štap i kruna) koje je za tu prigodu u Hrvatsku poslao papa Grgur VII. Činjenica da se Koloman nije odlučio ponoviti Zvonimirovu krunidbu, već je svoj ceremonijal organizirao u Biogradu, gdje su se hrvatski kraljevi krunili do 1075. godine, pokazuje nešto vrlo važno. Naime, iz toga jasno proizlazi da u ovo doba još nije bilo izgrađeno shvaćanje po kojemu se vlast Arpadovih nasljednika nad Hrvatskom temeljila na nasljednome pravu iz-

forces that came to meet Princess Buzila in the spring of 1097, this was not an expedition aimed at completely subduing the Croatian Kingdom. It could only have been a passing battle in which the king, who had for various reasons barely controlled but a part of the Croatian Kingdom, and who had, because of poor preparations, chance or some unknown reason, lost both the kingdom and his life.

The tentative defeat and death of King Petar only simplified the struggle for supremacy and control over the Croatian Kingdom. Unfortunately, there are no sources that speak about the events that followed the tumultuous spring of 1097 until the time when the problem was finally resolved with Koloman's coronation in Biograd. Although we should note that in that same codex from the 16th century in which the oaths of the townspeople of Split and Trogir have been preserved there is a copy of a letter that King Koloman sent to Doge Vitale Michiel (Rački, 1877, 479-80). The letter also contains the texts of the king's oath of friendship and alliance with the doge, but it also contains a sentence that indicates that this friendship stood on very shaky ground. Specifically, after the text of the oath, Koloman adds the sentence: "Among my magnates and elders I have noted doubt whether I should address you as the ruler (doge) of Croatia and Dalmatia". Developing his thought further, the king suggests that they should clearly define what belongs to each of the rulers as the inheritance of their forefathers. Historians are not in agreement with respect to dating this letter, so that it is broadly dated in the period between 1098 and 1101. However, in light of the fact that Koloman went to the trouble of organising a separate coronation ceremony in Biograd, and that he expended a lot of energy and resources into carrying out his plan, it seems very probable that this letter was written in 1101. Here we should also stress that the very act of the coronation comes into its own when placed in the framework of the dispute with the doge concerning the right to the Croatian Kingdom, although we should not neglect the domestic reasons that led the king to this action.

We should draw attention to the fact that since the time when Koloman took to the royal throne in open confrontation with his brother, he never managed to rule in peace although Almo had been given the title of duke in 1096, along with a part of the kingdom to administer and a place right next to the king in the social life of the state. For example, in 1097, after the victory over King Petar and the king's wedding to Buzila, there were open hostilities between the brothers that escalated to the point where the armies of the duke and the king stood against each other at Várkony on the Tisa



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vedenom iz Zvonimirova braka s Jelenom, sestrom ugarskih kraljeva Geze i Ladislava. K tomu, ponavljanje ceremonijala Zvonimirove krunidbe nosilo je u sebi opasnost od tumačenja da je Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo papinsko leno, pa da samim time upravo papa može odlučivati tko može a tko ne može vladati zemljom. Konačno, ali ne i na posljednjem mjestu, nije teško zamisliti da je i hrvatska rodovska aristokracija preferirala raniji obred na račun onoga obavljenog 1075. godine. Upravo ovo posljednje vjerojatno je imalo posebnu težinu, jer je Koloman za čin krunidbe na ovaj ili onaj način morao osigurati suradnju upravo ovog društvenoga sloja. Naime, dosadašnja su razmatranja pokazala kako su u cijelome razdoblju od 1091. do 1102. ugarski kraljevi samo u dva navrata organizirali i vodili vojne pohode u hrvatskim krajevima. Takvi su pohodi bili skopčani s ogromnim poteškoćama što su proizlazile iz loših komunikacija i vrlo ograničenih logističkih mogućnosti (suvremena istraživanja pokazuju da su

River (Makk, 1989, 13). At that moment a military conflict was avoided in the last minute, but brotherly disputes were not put aside, all the more so because the ambitious Almo was certainly not pleased when Buzila bore the king two sons, Ladislas and Stephen, some time around 1100. The conflict between the brothers would not be settled until 1115 then Koloman, after another failed attempt by Almo to seize the crown, decided to blind his brother and his son Bela, and so permanently incapacitating them for ruling the country (Makk, 1989, 16). This, then, is the context in which we should also view Koloman's decision to be crowned with the Croatian crown, noting that way back in 1091 Ladislas had proclaimed Almo to be the king of Croatia. That occasion was certainly not marked with a proper and usual coronation ceremony, and we do not know whether Almo ever really used the royal title he was given at that time. However, regardless of this, it seemed that Koloman thought that he had good reason to have a ceremony to mark his coronation with the Croatian crown, and it is probable that on this occasion there was a separate ceremony in which his younger son Stephen was crowned as Croatian king as well, and he is mentioned as such (as "our king" – *rex noster)* in the *laudae* that was sung on special occasions in the churches of Zadar (Smičiklas II, 392).

Be that as it may, the carrying out of the idea of a special coronation also reveals something about the ceremony as it appeared before the coronation of King Zvonimir in 1075, a coronation that we have abundant knowledge about since the king's coronation oath has been preserved as delivered before the papal legate (Stipišić-Šamšalović, 1967, 139-41). Specifically, Zvonimir's coronation took place in the church of St. Peter in Solin with the special insignia of royal office (banner, sword, staff and crown) that were sent to Croatia for that occasion by Pope Gregory VII. The fact that Koloman chose not to repeat the ceremony of Zvonimir's coronation, and to organise the ceremony in Biograd, where Croatian kings were crowned until 1075, indicates a very important point. Specifically, it is clear that the thinking at that time did not include the claim that the rule of Arpad's successors over Croatia was based on a hereditary right that derived from Zvonimir's marriage to Jelena, the sister of the Hungarian kings Geza and Ladislas. Furthermore, the repetition of the ceremony of Zvonimir's coronation included the inherent danger of an interpretation whereby the Croatian Kingdom was a papal fief, and that the pope could decide who could rule over the land and who could not. Last, but not least, it is not difficult to imagine that the Croatian clan aristocracy preferred the earlier ceremony and not the one

sve do modernih vremena vojske, u uvjetima kakvi su vladali u onodobnoj Hrvatskoj, mogle sa sobom nositi opskrbu dovoljnu tek za tri dana pohoda – Mann 1986, 138-142). Ukoliko je Koloman doista želio ostvariti bilo kakve ciljeve vezane uz Hrvatsku, od krucijalne je važnosti bilo osigurati stabilnost u cijelome Kraljevstvu, a toga nije moglo biti bez podrške najmoćnijega društvenog sloja – rodovske aristokracije.

Ovime konačno dolazimo do zaokruženoga tumačenja onoga što se 1102. godine dogodilo u Biogradu. Činom krunidbe Koloman je, bar se tako čini temeljem danas dostupnih vrela, riješio nekoliko važnih problema – stekao je prednost u odnosu prema mletačkome duždu; poništio važnost Almoševa kraljevskoga naslova iz 1091. godine i ujedno osigurao poziciju sinu Stjepanu; trajno vezao uza se hrvatsku rodovsku aristokraciju, koja je time dobila *svoga* kralja.

Smirivanje prilika

Najnovija istraživanja otkrila su mnoge okolnosti koje su pratile Kolomanovu krunidbu 1102. godine. Svakako najvažniji rezultat koji su donijela ova istraživanja jest zaključak da je ugarski kralj taj čin obavio nakon vrlo podrobnih priprema i da se za postizanje svoga cilja služio ponajprije umijećem pregovaranja. Pri tomu je pokazao i onu osobinu koja je u očima suvremenika činila srednjovjekovnog vladara velikim – darežljivost. Naime, arheološkim je nalazima potvrđeno da je upravo u ovo vrijeme u središte Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, Ravne kotare u zaleđu Zadra, dospjela velika količina novca Kolomanove kovnice, kao i određena količina nakita iz panonskoga radioničkog kruga. Sve se to opravdano dovodi u svezu s krunidbom u Biogradu 1102. godine (Jakšić 1998, 273-4), bilo da se radilo o poklonima koje je kralj podijelio prigodom prolaska na putu u Biograd, bilo da se radilo, što se inače čini vjerojatnijim, o darovima koje je novookrunjeni kralj dijelio nakon svečanoga ceremonijala. Pri tomu ne bi trebalo zaboraviti da je u ovo vrijeme "dar" imao posve drugo značenje od onoga kakvo mu pridaju naša današnja shvaćanja. U još uvijek polubarbarskome svijetu s početka 12. stoljeća, s posve drugačijim shvaćanjem vlasništva od onoga današnjeg, dijeljenje "darova" koje primatelji nisu mogli uzvratiti istom mjerom značilo je zapravo uspostavljanje odnosa neravnopravnosti i "gospodstva". Primiti "dar" bez uzvraćanja "protudarom" slične vrijednosti podrazumijevalo je preuzeti "obvezu održavanja vjernosti sve do smrti" (Gurevič 1990, 59-77).

No, Koloman nije iskazao darežljivost, ma kako ona bila tumačena, samo materijalnim poklonima i darovima. Čini

that was carried out in 1075. It was probably the latter that carried a specific weight because Koloman had to ensure, in one way or another, the cooperation of this social group for the act of the coronation. Namely, the studies carried out so far have shown that in the whole of the period between 1091 and 1102 the Hungarian kings had organised and led military campaigns in Croatia on only two occasions. These campaigns were linked with severe difficulties that resulted from poor communications and very limited logistic possibilities (recent research has shown that before modern times armies, in conditions that prevailed in Croatia at that time, could carry provisions only for three days – Mann, 1986, 138-142). If Koloman had wanted to achieve any aims with respect to Croatia, it was of crucial importance that he should secure stability in the entire Kingdom, and he could not count on that without the support of the most powerful social group – the clan aristocracy.

And thus we finally arrive at a comprehensive interpretation of what actually happened in Biograd in 1102. By the act of his coronation, Koloman had solved, at least as far as we can deduce from the available sources, several important issues – he gained and advantage with respect to the Venetian doge; he annulled the validity of Almo's royal title from 1091 and, at the same time, ensured the position of his son Stephen; he permanently associated with himself the Croatian clan aristocracy, which had thus gained *its own* king.

The Situation is Calmed

Recent studies have disclosed many circumstances that accompanied Koloman's coronation in 1102. Certainly the most important result that emerged from these studies is the conclusion that the Hungarian king performed this ceremony after careful preparations and that he achieved his aim primarily through skilled negotiations. In this he also showed a characteristic that made a mediaeval ruler great in the eyes of his contemporaries – generosity. Archaeological excavations have confirmed that in this period numerous coins from Koloman's mint, as well as a certain amount of jewellery from workshops in Pannonia, had arrived into the centre of the Croatian Kingdom, the Ravni Kotari region in the Zadar hinterland. All this is justifiably linked with the coronation in Biograd in 1102 (Jakšić, 1998, 273-4), regardless of the fact whether these objects were gifts that the king distributed during his passage to Biograd, or, what is more likely, that these were gifts that the newly-crowned king gave out after the ceremony. Here we should keep in mind that in

se da je samome činu krunidbe prethodio dogovor kojim je reguliran status najistaknutijih rodova, upravo onih koji su svojim posjedima okruživali mjesta od posebne važnosti za predviđeni ceremonijal – Vranu i Biograd. Njima je kralj osigurao izuzimanje od plaćanja vladarskoga poreza na zemljišne posjede i odredio precizne obveze glede vojničke službe. Time je stvorio čvrsto i trajno uporište svome autoritetu, a iz kratkoročne perspektive otvorio put ka Vrani, gdje su se u samostanu Sv. Grgura čuvale insignije kraljevske vlasti i predmeti potrebni za ceremonijal kakav je bio uobičajen prije Zvonimirove krunidbe (dvije zlatne krune urešene dragim kamenjem i dva križa, kalež i plitica, te Evanđelje izrađeno srebrnim slovima), odnosno dalje ka Biogradu, gdje je konačno i obavljena krunidba.

No, postignuti dogovori i darežljivost koju je kralj ovom prigodom iskazao imali su i svoju drugu stranu. Izuzimanje pripadnika dvanaest najistaknutijih rodovskih zajednica od plaćanja poreza značilo je automatski i priznavanje Kolomanova prava da od ostalih ubire taj isti porez. Istodobno, reguliranje vojnih obveza ovih rodova impliciralo je i pravo na traženje istih ili sličnih obveza i drugih podanika, itd. itd. Dio dogovora nedvojbeno je bio pristanak na to da novi kralj preuzme i posjede koji su ranije pripadali kraljevskome fisku, za što postoji i najizravnija potvrda u sačuvanim vrelima. Naime, već 1105. godine, kada se kralj ponovno spustio u Hrvatsku, održan je pred Zadrom sabor, koji je uključivao i okupljanje crkvenih dostojanstvenika, o čemu će još biti riječi. Uglavnom, u toj je prigodi vođen i spor oko zemalja koje su pripadale samostanu Sv. Mojsija (i Sv. Petra) kod Solina, staroj zadužbini Trpimirovića, koja je krunidbom i dakako sporazumom postignutim prije toga pripala kralju. Na skupu ispred zadarskih zidova 1105. godine, a pred okupljenim crkvenim poglavarima koji su trebali presuditi, kraljeve je interese u tom slučaju zastupao prepozit ostrogonske crkve Teobald. Na drugoj pak strani, interese pojedinih splitskih crkvenih institucija, ali i hrvatskih plemića i običnih seljaka s toga područja, zastupao je Grgur, opat samostana Sv. Stjepana iz poljičkoga primorja. Prijepor je, zapravo, izbio oko tumačenja koje to zemlje stvarno pripadaju crkvi Sv. Mojsija, odnosno njezinu "vlasniku", kralju. Pri tomu je prepozit Teobald polagao pravo na daleko veći fond zemalja no što je stvarno pripadao staroj kraljevskoj crkvi, no kako su prijepor rješavali hrvatski biskupi i opati, to je Grguru ipak, uz pomoć brojnih svjedoka, uspjelo obraniti stavove stranaka koje je zastupao. Cijela procedura, međutim, jasno pokazuje da je do 1105. godine već bio proveden postupak preuzimanja svega onoga što je pripadalo kraljevskom fisku. Koliko je tom prigodom

those times a "gift" had a completely different meaning to that which we ascribe to it. In the still semi-barbaric world from the beginning of the 12th century, which had a completely different understanding of ownership than in modern times, the giving of "gifts" that those accepting them could not match with gifts of equal measure actually implied the establishment of an unequal relationship and "mastery". To receive a gift without returning the favour with a "counter-gift" of similar value implied the acceptance of "an obligation of allegiance to death" (Gurevič, 1990, 59-77).

However, Koloman did not express his generosity, regardless of how it might be interpreted, only with material gifts. It seems that the act of the coronation was preceded by an agreement that regulated the status of the most prominent clans, precisely those whose estates encircled the places of special importance for the ceremony – Vrana and Biograd. The king exempted them from paying the ruler's tax on landed estates and defined their precise obligations with respect to military service. In this way he created a firm and permanent stronghold for his authority, and from the short-term point of view he opened the way to Vrana, where the monastery of St. Gregory held the insignia of royal office and objects necessary for the ceremony as was practiced before Zvonimir's coronation (two gold crowns decorated with precious stones and two crosses, a chalice and plate, as well as the Gospels made with silver letters), as well as further on to Biograd, where the coronation would finally take place.

However, the agreements that were reached and the generosity that the king showed on this occasion had another side to them. The exemption granted to members of the twelve most prominent clan communities from paying taxes automatically included the recognition of Koloman's right to collect these taxes from others. At the same time, the stipulation of military obligations on the part of the clans implied that such a right could be sought from other subjects, and so on. A part of the agreement was certainly the acceptance of the right of the king to take over the estates that had earlier belonged to the royal sources of revenue, and this is directly confirmed by preserved sources. Specifically, already in 1105, when the king again came to Croatia, a diet was held outside Zadar, which included a gathering of ecclesiastics, a gathering that we will come back to later. Specifically, on that occasion a dispute was brought up concerning lands that belonged to the monastery of St. Moses (and St. Peter) near Solin, an ancient pious endowment by the Trpimir family, which had with the coronation and, naturally, the agreement that was reached beforehand, come into the king's pos-

bilo prijepora sličnih onome što se vodio oko zemalja Sv. Mojsija, danas je nemoguće reći (ni ovaj spor nije okončan izdavanjem službene isprave, već je opat Grgur načinio ili dao načiniti bilješku o tomu na kraju popisa posjeda svoga samostana – Novak-Skok 1952, 227-8). Nije isto tako jasno ni koji su sudovi rješavali sporove koji su eventualno proizlazili iz takvih prijepora, pa je danas nemoguće znati što je od nekadašnjih kraljevskih posjeda Koloman doista uspio staviti pod svoj izravan nadzor. Ovdje, pak, valja samo pripomenuti kako je nekih pedesetak godina kasnije, točnije 1158. godine, Geza II., unuk Kolomanova oslijepljenoga brata Almoša, sada već kao ugarsko-hrvatski kralj, poklonio crkvu Sv. Mojsija, zajedno sa svim posjedima koji su joj pripadali, Splitskoj nadbiskupiji (Diplomatički zbornik II, 87-8).

S uređivanjem prilika novi je kralj počeo odmah po krunidbi. Uobičajena procedura u kojoj se to radilo bio je formalizirani oblik okupljanja "političkoga naroda" (načelno svi oni koji su posjedovali zemlju i obavljali vojnu službu). Takvo se okupljanje po običaju trebalo održavati najmanje jednom godišnje, a u starohrvatskome se jeziku nazivalo "shod" (a ne "sabor"), dočim se u dokumentima pisanim latinskim jezikom koriste pojmovi *congregatio* ili *consilium*. Okupljeni je "politički narod" u takvim prigodama s vladarom i njegovom užom pratnjom raspravljao najvažnija pitanja za cijelu zemlju, potvrđivao vladareve odluke, ali je to okupljanje bilo i svojevrsni vrhovni sud na kojemu je vladar, kao vrhovni sudac, rješavao sporove koji se iz raznih razloga nisu mogli riješiti na nižim instancama. Opisi takvih okupljanja koji se mogu naći u sačuvanim onodobnim dokumentima uglavnom su daleko od realnih opisa onoga što se u takvim prigodama stvarno događalo. Ti opisi potječu najvećim dijelom iz vladarskih isprava, pa se u njima ponajprije zrcali idealna slika koju je o sebi želio stvoriti svaki vladar. Prvi je takav "shod" s Kolomanom u ulozi hrvatskoga kralja održan odmah po krunidbi, a o njegovu održavanju informacije crpemo iz tom prigodom izdane kraljevske isprave. Ona doduše nije sačuvana u izvorniku već u prijepisu unesenom u "kartular" zadarskoga samostana Sv. Marije (Novak 1959, 256-7), a oko autentičnosti dokumenta još uvijek postoji prijepor među povjesničarima. Dokument govori o tomu kako je Koloman, na nagovor velikaša iz svoje pratnje, odlučio potvrditi samostanu "kraljevsku slobodu", pod uvjetom da redovnice mole za njega osobno i napredak njegova kraljevstva. U samome tekstu se to izrijekom ne spominje, no čini se posve vjerojatnim da je predstojnica samostana, opatica Vekenega, i osobno došla u Biograd tražiti "kraljevsku slobodu" kakvu je samostan uživao još od vremena vladavine Petra Krešimira

session. At the gathering outside the walls of Zadar in 1105, before the gathered ecclesiastics that were supposed to settle the matter, the king's interests were defended by the provost of the Ostragon church Theobald. On the other hand, the interests of individual church institutions from Split, as well as of those of Croatian nobles and ordinary farmers from the region, were represented by Grgur, the abbot of the monastery of St. Stephen from the coastal region of Poljice. The dispute, in fact, arose from the interpretation of which land actually belongs to the church of St. Moses, namely its "owner", the king. Provost Theobald claimed much more land than actually belonged to the old royal church, but since the dispute was to be settled by Croatian bishops and abbots, Grgur had managed, with the assistance of numerous witnesses, to defend the claim of the parties he was representing. However, the whole procedure clearly shows that the process whereby the king had taken over all that belonged to the royal treasury had been completed by 1105. It is now impossible to say how many disputes like the one concerning the land belonging to the church of St. Moses arose at the time (and not even this dispute was settled by an official document; Abbot Grgur had only made a note concerning this matter at the end of the list of estates of his monastery – Novak-Skok, 1952, 227-8). Similarly, it is not clear which courts settled claims that arose from such disputes, so that today we have no way of knowing what land belonging to former royal estates Koloman managed to place under his direct control. Nevertheless, here we should note that some fifty years later, in 1158 to be precise, Geza II, the grandson of Koloman's blinded brother Almo, who was then the king of Hungary and Croatia, gave the church of St. Moses, together with all estates belonging to it, to the diocese in Split (Diplomatički zbornik II, 87-8.

The new king began to organise matters immediately after his coronation. The usual procedure through which this was done was a formalised gathering of the "body politic" (in principle, all those that held land and did military service). According to custom, such a gathering should have been convened at least once a year, for which the ancient Croatian term was "shod" (and not "sabor"), while documents written in Latin use the terms *congregatio* or *consilium*. On such occasions the gathered "body politic", together with the king and his closest entourage discussed the most pressing questions for the entire country and confirmed the ruler's decisions, but at the same time it was also the highest court where the ruler, as the supreme judge, settled disputes that, for various reasons, could not have been solved by other instances. The descriptions of these gatherings that can be

IV. i Zvonimira. U tome opatičinu činu, kojim se zapravo priznavao puni legitimitet novoga kralja i njegova jurisdikcija, vjerojatno treba tražiti i razloge kasnijega posebnoga Kolomanova odnosa spram samostana Sv. Marije i njegove predstojnice Vekenege. Popis, pak, velikaša iz kraljeve pratnje koji su svojim pristankom potvrdili kraljevu odluku pokazuje da novookrunjeni kralj još uvijek nije imao strukturiranu vlast u Hrvatskoj, u prvome redu nije još uvijek imao bana, koji će ubuduće obavljati većinu poslova u Hrvatskoj u kraljevo ime.

U tome smislu do znatnih će promjena doći u razdoblju između 1102. i 1105. godine, odnosno do vremena kada je Koloman opet došao obići Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo. Sačuvana vrela nažalost ne otkrivaju što se u međuvremenu događalo u zemlji, no jedna epizoda, o kojoj opet govori tek pukim slučajem sačuvani dokument, zaslužuje ovdje posebnu pozornost. Riječ je o boravku kardinala Augustina, legata pape Paskala II., u Hrvatskoj 1103. godine, koji je ovamo došao, po vlastitim riječima, kako bi u gradovima Dalmacije "unaprijedio pravdu". O njegovu djelovanju govori tek ranije spominjana isprava sačuvana u "kartularu" biogradskoga samostana Sv. Ivana Evanđeliste, kojom kardinal samostanu vraća crkvu Sv. Kuzme i Damjana na Pašmanu, kamo će doskora preseliti cijela samostanska zajednica. Kardinalov dolazak, međutim, imao je mnogo šire značenje od reguliranja odnosa između pojedinih crkvenih institucija u dalmatinskim gradovima. Valja svakako naglasiti da njegov put pada neposredno nakon Kolomanove krunidbe, pa se može i mora tumačiti kao vrlo izravna papinska potpora novookrunjenom kralju, ali i nastojanje da se u sukobima rastrganu zemlju postupno počne vraćati red i mir. Augustinovo je djelovanje nedvojbeno trebalo otupjeti i oštrinu sukoba koji je izbio još zbog Ladislavova izuzimanja Zagrebačke biskupije od jurisdikcije Splitske nadbiskupije. Kraljev je postupak iz 1094. godine, zapravo, bio u punoj suprotnosti s kanonskim propisima i duhom zahuktaloga reformnog pokreta. No, u Rimu se očigledno prosuđivalo kako podrška koju papinstvu pruža ugarsko-hrvatski kralj daleko nadilazi eventualne štete proizašle iz nekanonskih i, gotovo, protureformnih postupaka prigodom stvaranja i organizacije Zagrebačke biskupije. Ne smije se, naime, ovdje smetnuti s uma da je riječ o vremenu kada reformno papinstvo još uvijek nije riješilo prijepore s carskom vlašću, pa potpora koju daju pojedini kraljevi ima u tome kontekstu izvanrednu važnost. Nedvojbeno je i Augustin upravo takvim argumentima smirivao pritužbe splitskoga nadbiskupa i njegovih sufragana, ukazujući im na važnost koju su za Katoličku crkvu kao cjelinu imali dobri odnosi s ugarsko-hrvatskim kraljem. Je li u takvu kontekstu kardinal

found in preserved contemporary documents are, as a rule, a far cry from realistic descriptions of what actually took place on these occasions. These descriptions for they most part originate from the ruler's documents, so that the primarily reflect the ideal image that every ruler wanted to create for himself. The first such "shod" with Koloman in the role of the Croatian king took place immediately after his coronation, and we draw information about it from a royal document that was issued on that occasion. It is true that this document has not been preserved in its original form, but in a copy that was introduced into the "chartula" of the nunnery of St. Mary in Zadar (Novak, 1959, 256-7), and there is still an ongoing dispute among historians as to the authenticity of that document. The document speaks about the way in which Koloman was persuaded by magnates from his entourage to confirm "royal freedom" to the nunnery provided that the nuns pray for himself and for the prosperity of his kingdom. Although it is not stated explicitly in the text itself, it seem probable that the head of the nunnery, the nun Vekenega personally came to Biograd to ask for the "royal freedom" that the nunnery enjoyed from the time of the reigns of Petar Krešimir IV and Zvonimir. This action on the part of the nun, which in fact acknowledged the full legitimacy of the new king and his jurisdiction, should probably be seen as the reason why Koloman would later develop a special relationship towards the nunnery of St. Mary and its head, Vekenega. On the other hand, the list of magnates from the king's entourage who agreed to confirm the king's decision shows that the newly-crowned king still did not have a structured form of rule in Croatia; in the first instance he did not have a *ban,* who would in the future carry out most of the duties in Croatia in the king's name.

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In this sense, significant changes would take place in the period between 1102 and 1105, namely by the time when Koloman again came to tour the Croatian Kingdom. Unfortunately, the preserved sources do not reveal what was happening in the country in the meantime, but one episode, one that is again mentioned in a document that has been preserved by pure chance, deserves special attention at this point. It deals with the stay of Cardinal Augustine, the legate of Pope Pasquale II, in Croatia in 1103; he came to these parts, as he himself states, to "promote justice" in the Dalmatian towns. His activities are mentioned only in the document from the "chartula" of the monastery of St. John the Evangelist in Biograd which was mentioned above, and in which the cardinal returns to the monastery the church of Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian on the island of Pašman, where the entire monastery community would soon move.

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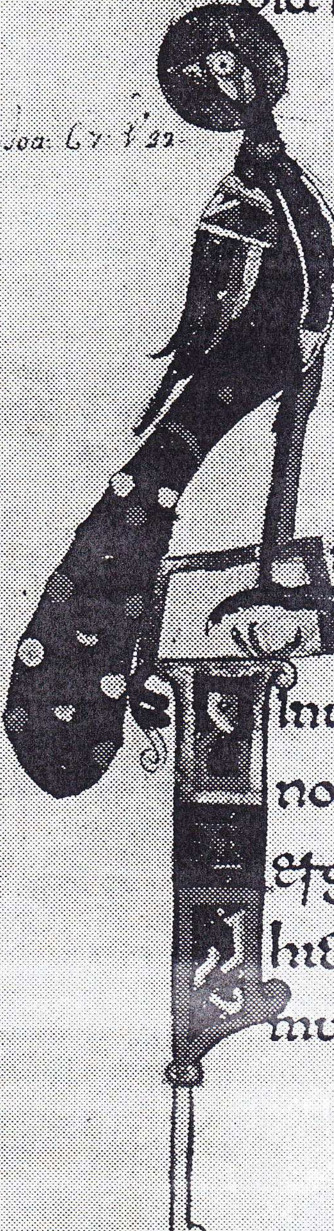

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MS. Canon. Bibl. 61, fol. 64 v

na određeni način i svjesno "pripremao teren" u dalmatinskim gradovima za novi Kolomanov dolazak, teško je danas reći, no ako to i nije radio svjesno, učinak je njegova djelovanja bio takav.

Upravo će, naime, vrh crkvene hijerarhije Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva odigrati važnu ulogu u konačnoj uspostavi kraljevskoga autoriteta, okrunjenoj Kolomanovim ulaskom u gradove. Na svu sreću sačuvana je cijela skupina vrela koja donose dovoljno relevantnih i detaljnih informacija o okolnostima u kojima se to dogodilo, omogućujući na taj način konačno zaokruživanje slike uspostave "zajedničke ugarsko-hrvatske države". U toj skupini ima vrlo različitih vrela, kako po nastanku, tako i po kutu iz kojega događaje promatraju njihovi autori. Najvrjednije informacije svakako pružaju suvremeni dokumenti i zapisi nastali upravo za zbivanja o kojima govore ili neposredno nakon toga. Takve su naravi: već spominjana zabilješka opata Grgura o sporu koji se rješavao na sinodu pred zadarskim zidinama; isprava opatice samostana Sv. Marije, sastavljena 1105. godine, kada je Koloman "trijumfalno ušao u Zadar" (Novak 1959, 257-8); natpis na zvoniku crkve istoga samostana, koji bilježi kako je upravo kralj, nakon ulaska u grad, dao novac za izgradnju zvonika (Jakšić 1998, 272); zabilješka anonimnoga Zadranina, koja opisuje svečani "shod" pred gradskim zidinama i okolnosti predaje grada (Diplomatički zbornik II, 24); prisege koje su položili ban Kledin, kao novi gradski knez, i zadarski prior Vitača, pošto je na nov način uređen status Zadra (Diplomatički zbornik II, 393, s pogrešnim datiranjem u 1116.-1117. godinu). Posve su drugačije naravi kasniji tekstovi koji, u različitim okvirima, govore i o Kolomanovu pohodu, s distance od stotinu i više godina, kakve nalazimo u *Životu sv. Ivana Trogirskoga* (Ivanišević 1977, 73-6, 107-10), *Kronici* Tome arciđakona (Rački 1894, 59-61) ili *Bečkoj ilustriranoj kronici* (*Ugarska kronika sastavljena u 14. stoljeću* – Szentpétery 1937, 426).

Temeljem svih tih raznolikih tekstova može se rekonstruirati slijed događaja koji počinje od silaska kralja u hrvatske krajeve u pratnji velikoga broja velikaša, kojima su na čelu stajali palatin Ivan i hrvatski ban Kledin, i ugarskih biskupa, na čelu s ostrogonskim nadbiskupom Lovrom. Cijelo se to mnoštvo uputilo najprije prema Splitu, čiji su građani u prvome trenutku, tako bar tvrdi kasniji splitski kroničar Toma, odbili pustiti kralja u grad. No, nakon intervencije nadbiskupa Krescencija, koji je u ime grada izravno pregovarao s Kolomanom, dogovorena je međusobna izmjena prisega kralja i građana kojom se potvrdivala uspostava mira, nakon čega je kralj svečano ušao u grad. Nakon toga su

However, the cardinal's arrival had a much broader implication than the resolution of relations between individual church institutions in Dalmatian towns. We certainly need to note that his arrival comes immediately after Koloman's coronation, so it can and should be interpreted as the pope's express support for the newly crowned king, as well as an attempt to bring back peace and order to a land that was ravaged by conflicts. Augustine's activities were without doubt also aimed at blunting the fierce conflict that arose when Ladislas removed the Diocese of Zagreb from the jurisdiction of the archdiocese in Split. The king's action in 1094 was actually completely in opposition with the canonical regulations and the spirit of the ongoing reform movement. However, Rome obviously reasoned that the support that the king of Hungary and Croatia provided to the papacy was far more important than the possible damage resulting from non-canonical and, practically, counter-reform actions taken on the occasion of creating and organising the diocese in Zagreb. Specifically, we should not forget that here we are dealing with a time when the reformist papacy still had not solved its differences with the power of the emperor, so that the support that individual monarchs provided it was of paramount importance in this context. It is certain that Augustine used precisely these arguments to suppress the complaints made by the archbishop of Split and his bishops, pointing out the importance of good relations with the king of Hungary and Croatia for the Catholic Church as a whole. Was the cardinal in this context consciously preparing the way for Koloman's new arrival in Dalmatian towns is hard to say from our perspective, but even if he was not doing this consciously, his activities had precisely this effect.

Specifically, the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Croatian Kingdom would play an important part in the final establishment of royal authority, which would be crowned by Koloman's entrance into the towns. Fortunately, there is an abundance of preserved sources that bring a sufficient amount of relevant and detailed information concerning the circumstances in which this happened, thus enabling us to finally round off the image of the establishment of the "joint Hungarian and Croatian state". This group of documents contains very diverse sources, both with respect to their origin and with respect to the perspective from which their authors view the events in question. Naturally, the most valuable information comes from documents and writings that were made at the time of the events or immediately afterwards. This group of documents includes the following: the note by abbot Grgur concerning the dispute that was settled at the synod outside the town walls of Zadar; the document

Koloman i njegova svita, ali i splitski nadbiskup i vrh crkvene hijerarhije njegove nadbiskupije, zajedno otputovali ka Trogiru, gdje je ponovljen isti ceremonijal. Nakon Trogira, iz kojega je sada u kraljevu pratnju kooptiran i tamošnji biskup Ivan, ekspedicija se otputila pod Zadar. Pred gradskim zidinama održan je veliki "shod", a potom i crkveni sinod Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva. Čini se, međutim, da su se i u Zadru pojavile teškoće oko ulaska kralja u grad, pa je ovdje ulogu glavnoga pregovarača preuzeo trogirski biskup Ivan, koji je uspio izgladiti nesuglasja i osigurati kralju "trijumfalni" ulazak u grad. Zahvaljujući bilješci koju je nešto kasnije sastavio anonimni Zadranin, moguće je danas na trenutak "zaviriti" i na crkveni sinod, na kojemu je kralj, svečano položivši ruku na Evanđelje koje je držao zadarski biskup, prisegnuo kako će čuvati "stare sloboštine" crkvene provincije. To je, konkretno, značilo da će se kralj ubuduće ograničiti na potvrđivanje crkvenih velikaša koje su kler i pučanstvo imali pravo sami izabrati. No, uz kralja, svečanom su prisegom takvu njegovu obvezu potvrdili i njegovi velikaši ali i ugarski prelati. Cijeli je ceremonijal vrhunac dosegao u trenutku kada je, nakon polaganja prisega, kralj poklonio tri velika (vjerojatno zlatna) križa Splitskoj, Zadarskoj i Rapskoj crkvi. Dio, pak, svjetovnoga "shoda", na kojemu su kroz formalizirani ceremonijal potvrđeni ranije sklopljeni politički dogovori s poglavarima Zadra, otkrivaju tekstovi prisega što su ih pred zadarskim zidinama položili ban Kledin i zadarski prior Vitača. Svečano izgovoreni tekst formalne prisege obvezivao je bana, i od ovoga trenutka zadarskoga kneza, na poštivanje sloboština grada, pa je čak formalno građanima bilo prepuštena odluka o tomu hoće li kneza i njegovu vojnu posadu pustiti u utvrdu na gradskim zidinama. Ban i knez se k tomu obvezao pružiti gradu obranu i zaštitu prema svojoj moći, koja je već po njegovoj tituli bila velika, a zauzvrat je tražio prijateljstvo građana i pravo na ubiranje tributa koji je i ranije pripadao kralju. U ime grada prisegu je položio stariji prior, Vitača, obvezavši se na podaničku vjernost i plaćanje uobičajenoga tributa. Vjerojatno se tom prigodom Koloman, gestom koja je iskazivala kraljevsku veličinu, obvezao na financiranje zvonika crkve samostana Sv. Marije, ako čak nije bio u stanju istoga trenutka i položiti određenu svotu novca (sve okolnosti vezane uz taj nimalo jeftini pothvat, pa dakle i eventualne troškove, razglaba Jakšić 1998, 273). Veliki finale cijeloga sklopa zbivanja morao je biti Kolomanov "trijumfalni" ulazak u grad, o kojemu govori opatica Vekenega u svojoj ispravi. Uz sam, pak, kraljev boravak unutar gradskih zidova valjalo bi vezati još jednu nadarbinu koja će tijekom cijeloga srednjeg vijeka podržavati legendu o Kolomanu. Riječ je o moćniku za ruku Sv. Krševana, relikviju sveca zaštitnika

written by the nun from the abbey of St. Mary in 1105, when Koloman "triumphantly entered Zadar" (Novak, 1959, 257-8); the inscription on the bell tower of the church of the same abbey that notes that the king gave money for building the bell tower after entering the town (Jakšić, 1998, 272); the note by an anonymous writer from Zadar that describes the solemn assembly or "shod" outside the town wall and the circumstances of the town's surrender (Diplomatički zbornik II. 24); the oaths taken by *Ban* Kledin, as the new prince of the town, and Vitača, the prior of Zadar, after the status of Zadar was regulated in a new way (Diplomatički zbornik II, 393, with the erroneous dating of the oaths to 1116-1117). In contrast to these documents we have those that come from a later date and which, in varying frameworks, also deal with Koloman's expedition from a perspective that is removed by a hundred years or more, such as *The Life of St. John of Trogir* (Ivanišević, 1977, 73-6, 107-10), the *Chronicle* by Archdeacon Toma (Rački, 1894, 59-61) or the *Viennese Illustrated Chronicle (Hungarian Chronicle Written in the 14th Century* – Szentpétery, 1937, 426).

On the basis of all these various texts we can reconstruct the sequence of events that began with the king's coming to Croatia accompanied by a large number of magnates, led by the Hungarian viceroy Ivan and the Croatian *Ban* Kledin, as well as Hungarian bishops, led by the Archbishop of Ostragon, Lawrence. This multitude first travelled to Split, whose inhabitants, according to the later chronicler of Split, Toma, at first refused to allow the king into the town. However, after an intervention by the Archbishop Krescencije, who negotiated with Koloman directly in the name of the town, it was agreed that the king and the town inhabitants would exchange oaths in order to confirm the establishment of peace, after which the king ceremonially entered the town. Afterwards, the king and his suite, as well as the archbishop of Split and the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of his archdiocese, travelled together to Trogir, where the same ceremony was repeated. After Trogir, where the bishop of that town, Ivan, joined the retinue, the expedition left for Zadar. In front of the town walls the great assembly or "shod" took place, followed by the church synod of the Croatian Kingdom. However, it seems that in Zadar there were difficulties concerning the king's entrance into the town, and here the role of the main negotiator fell to Ivan, the bishop of Trogir, who managed to iron out the disagreement and secure the king's "triumphal" entrance into the town. Due to the fact that an anonymous inhabitant of Zadar had made a record of these events, we can "glimpse" at the ecclesiastical synod, where the king placed his hand on the Gospels held by the

najvažnijeg gradskog samostana, oko koje je već ranije bila izgrađena legenda. Mnogo kasnije, na samome kraju 14. stoljeća, zabilježeno je da se upravo taj moćnik koristio prigodom ceremonijalnih čina vezanih uz vlast ugarsko-hrvatskih kraljeva (Ančić 1998a, 135-6).

Naznačeno obilje vrela koja govore o Kolomanovu boravku u Hrvatskoj 1105. godine ipak se ne može smatrati tek pukom slučajnošću. Da se taj boravak usjekao u kolektivnu memoriju širokih slojeva pučanstva, bar u južnim dijelovima Hrvatske, posvjedočuju i Toma arciđakon i *Život svetoga Ivana Trogirskog*, iako se u prikazima koje nalazimo u kasnijim tekstovima može razabrati tek odjek stvarnih događaja u osnovnoj narativnoj niti. Tu osnovnu narativnu nit, kraljev dolazak i svečani ulazak u gradove, kasniji su autori dopunjavali vlastitim rekonstrukcijama i domišljanjima, koje danas više govore o samim autorima, pa i o njihovu širem okruženju, no o stvarnim događajima iz 1105. godine. S druge strane, teško može biti dvojbe glede toga je li spektakl koji je pratio kraljev put i boravak bio u to doba uobičajena i svakodnevna stvar. Odgovor je decidirano odrečan, a teško se oteti ukupnome dojmu da je cijeli niz zbivanja bio od početka smišljen i planiran kao neka vrst spektakla, o čemu možda najjasnije govori činjenica da je Koloman iz Ugarske poveo, uz uobičajenu pratnju velikaša, cijeli niz crkvenih prelata. K tomu, i u Ugarskoj pohod nije ostao nezamijećen, pa je tako primjerice spomenut u tzv. *Požunskim analima*. Riječ je, zapravo, o analističkim bilješkama unesenim tijekom druge polovice 12. stoljeća u "Uskršnje tablice" jednoga misala što je bio u uporabi u benediktinskom samostanu u Boldvi (sjeveroistočna Ugarska). U tim su bilješkama, inače, notirana najvažnija zbivanja u borbama oko ugarskoga prijestola tijekom 11. i 12. stoljeća, odnosno vojni pohodi koje su samostanci smatrali važnima. Tako se unesak o "osvajanju" Zadra, s pogrešnim datiranjem u 1108. godinu, našao u društvu, primjerice, s uneskom koji govori o osvajanju Niša (Szentpétery 1937, 126). S druge strane, čini se kako se uspomena na pohod iz 1105. godine dobro očuvala i u dvorskim krugovima, ali i ovdje prerađena po ukusu i shvaćanjima kasnijih vremena. Tekst koji donosi *Bečka ilustrirana kronika* u glavi 146. (Szentpétery 1937, 426) zavrjeđuje našu pozornost jer pokazuje kako se u kasnijim vremenima na pohod gledalo iz ugarskoga kuta. "Priča" je u cjelinu kronike uklopljena gotovo nasilno, bez organske veze s onim što dolazi prije i poslije nje, i tek je okvirno datirana između 1101. i 1106. godine. Nakon kratkoga upozorenja da je Koloman išao u Dalmaciju, objašnjava se kako je grad Zadar opsjedao i čak ga imao namjeru spaliti zbog otpora na koji je naišao. Slijedi objašnjenje iz kojega se razabire kako je

bishop of Zadar and pledged to preserve the "old freedoms" of the ecclesiastical province. This specifically meant that the king would limit himself to confirming prelates that the clergy and the townspeople had a right to elect by themselves. However, along with the king, his magnates and the Hungarian prelates also confirmed the solemn oath. The entire ceremony reached its peak at the moment when, after the oaths were sworn, the king gave three large (probably golden) crosses to the churches of Split, Zadar and Rab. On the other hand, a part of the civil "shod", at which the formerly agreed political arrangements with the leadership of Zadar was confirmed, is revealed from the texts of the oaths that *Ban* Kledin and the prior of Zadar, Vitača, swore before the town walls. The solemn taking of the formal oath obliged the *ban,* who was from that moment the duke of Zadar, to honour the freedoms of the town, so that it was formally left to the townspeople to decide whether they would allow the duke and his troops into the fortification on the town walls. The *ban* and duke also pledged to defend the town and provide it protection in line with his power, which was, according to his title, great; in return he sought the friendship of the townspeople and the right to collect a tribute that had up to that time belonged to the king. The oath was sworn by the elder prior, Vitača, in the name of the town, pledging his allegiance and the payment of the usual tribute. It was probably then that Koloman, with a gesture that represented his royal greatness, pledged to finance the building of the bell tower of the church in the abbey of St. Mary, even if he was not in a position at that very moment to give a certain sum of money (all the circumstances linked with this, by no means cheap, enterprise are discussed by Jakšić, 1998, 273). The great finale of this entire sequence of events had to be Koloman's "triumphant" entrance into the town, an event described by the nun Vekenega in her document. With respect to the king's stay in the town, we should also mention another gift that would sustain the legend of Koloman throughout the middle ages. This is the reliquary for the hand of St. Krševan, the relic of the patron saint of the town's most important abbey, a relic that had already been cast in legend. Much later, at the very end of the 14th century, it was recorded that it was precisely this reliquary that was used for ceremonies linked with the rule of Hungarian and Croatian kings (Ančić, 1998a, 135-6).

Nevertheless, the abundance of sources that deal with Koloman's stay in Croatia in 1105 should not be considered a mere accident. The fact that this visit was impressed upon the collective memory of the public at large, at least in the southern parts of Croatia, is evident from the writings of

autor smatrao da se radilo o dugotrajnoj opsadi, jer je kralj ispred grada podigao i posebnu palaču. Upravo ga je u toj palači jedne noći, u snu, posjetio biskup Sv. Donat, lica izobličenoga bijesom, i ščepavši ga za kosu dobro išibao lovorovim prućem. Shvaćajući svečev bijes kao upozorenje, kralj je nakon sna odustao od daljega nanošenja štete gradu. Konfrontirana s onim što je gore rečeno, "priča" pokazuje više sličnosti s načinom na koji je boravak pod Zadrom prikazan u *Životu svetoga Ivana Trogirskog* (i tu se govori o žestokom sukobu, koji okončava tek svečeva intervencija, s naznakama čudesnoga), no s realnim zbivanjima kako ih ocrtavaju suvremeni dokumenti. Naglasak, pak, cijele "priče" stoji na kraljevskoj sili i moći, koju u namjeri razaranja grada sprječava ne žilava obrana građana, već čudesna intervencija jednoga od svetačkih zaštitnika grada, što je posve u skladu s vladarskom ideologijom 13. stoljeća.

Vraćajući se realnostima početka 12. stoljeća, valja naglasiti kako je cjelovito tumačenje nakana autora spektakla, ali i reakcija onih kojima je sve to bilo namijenjeno, danas gotovo nemoguće u smislu pune rekonstrukcije onoga što su vidjeli i razumjeli suvremenici. To, međutim, ne znači kako zbog teškoća valja odustati čak i od pokušaja tumačenja. U prvome redu stoga valja upozoriti kako opisana zbivanja imaju dvije prilično razgraničene dimenzije – na jednoj su strani stvarni pregovori, u kojima se definiraju okviri odnosa kralja i njegovih podanika, a na drugoj formalna potvrda tako postignutih dogovora kroz ceremonijalne čine. Kolomanovi potezi i postupci u ovoj drugoj dimenziji otkrivaju jasnu namjeru impresioniranja kako pučanstva gradova tako i cijeloga Hrvatskog Kraljevstva. Okrunjen za hrvatskoga kralja tri godine ranije, on sada kroz kraljevski ceremonijal želi podanicima pokazati vlastitu idealnu sliku i svu veličinu i moć svoga kraljevskoga veličanstva. Ta je idealna slika, dakako, kompleksna i slojevita, sa širokim spektrom elemenata, od imanentne prijetnje silom u slučaju nepodvrgavanja vladarevoj volji, preko društvenog mira koji kralj garantira kao vrhovni gospodar, do obećanja blistavih i bogatih darova za one koji se istaknu u svojoj vjernosti. Potpuna projekcija te idealne slike ostvaruje se u ceremonijalu kraljeva ulaska u grad, pa stoga nije slučaj što opatica Vekenega zadarsko uprizorenje toga ceremonijala opisuje pojmom "trijumfalni ulazak". Učinak koji je ovime polučen kod suvremenika bio je, kako se čini, upravo onakav kakav je Koloman i želio. Svojim postupcima i ponašanjem kralj je uspio stvoriti dojam ponovne uspostave mira i sigurnosti, što jasno potvrđuju i anonimni Zadranin i opatica Vekenega. Oboje, naime, govore o miru (Anonim čak dodaje i pojam "sigurnosti") što ga je Koloman uspostavio svojim djelovanjem, ocrtavajući time

Archdeacon Toma and *The Life of Saint Ivan of Trogir*, although the descriptions from the later texts provide only an echo of the real events in the basic thread of the narrative. This basic narrative thread, the king's arrival and ceremonial entrance into towns, was later enhanced by authors using their own reconstructions and imagination, and this today speaks more about the authors themselves, and their surroundings, than about the real events in 1105. On the other hand, there can be little doubt whether the spectacle that followed the king's journey and stay was for that time a common, everyday occurrence. The answer is decidedly no, and it is hard to shake off the impression that the whole sequence of events was from the beginning envisaged and planned as a form of a spectacle, and this is perhaps best borne out by the fact that Koloman was accompanied not only by the usual retinue of magnates, but also by a host of ecclesiastical prelates. Furthermore, this journey did not go unnoticed in Hungary itself, so that it is, for example, mentioned in the *Pressburg Annals*. These are analytical notes made during the second half of the 12th century and entered into the "Easter tables" of a missal that was used in the Benedictine abbey in Boldva (northeast Hungary). These notes recorded the most important events concerning the struggle for the Hungarian throne in the 11th and 12th centuries, namely military campaigns that the abbot and the monks considered to be important. And so the note regarding the "conquest" of Zadar, with its erroneous dating in 1108, comes together with the conquest of Niš (Szentpétry, 1937, 126). On the other hand, it seems that the memory of the expedition from 1105 was also preserved in royal circles, but in this instance it was also adapted in line with the taste and thinking of a later period. The text in Chapter 146 of *The Viennese Illustrated Chronicles* (Szentpétry, 1937, 426) deserves our attention since it shows the way in which the expedition was seen from the Hungarian perspective. The "story" was incorporated into the chronicles almost by brute force, with no organic links with events that preceded or followed it, and it is only roughly dated to between 1101 and 1106. After a brief warning that Koloman went to Dalmatia, it explains that the town of Zadar was held under siege, and that the king had even considered burning it because of the resistance he had met. Then there is an explanation from which we can conclude that the author thought that this was a long siege since the king had erected a separate palace outside the town. And it was in this palace that one night in his sleep he was visited by the bishop St. Donat, whose face was distorted with fury; the saint grabbed him by his hair and gave him a good thrashing with laurel branches. Interpreting the saint's anger as a warning,

jednu od onih “slika” iz fonda “društvenoga znanja” o kojima je bilo riječi na početku. Čini se čak u ovome pravcu mogućim krenuti i korak dalje. Koristimo li se pojmovima Tome arciđakona i njegovih suvremenika (Ančić 2002), smrt kralja Stjepana II. 1091. godine valja označiti kao trenutak nestanka “roda kraljevske krvi” te time svojevrsnoga “obezglavljivanja” Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, koje je stoga upalo u spiralu nereda i nasilja. U tim istim pojmovima Kolomanova krunidba 1102. godine i putovanje kroz Hrvatsku tri godine kasnije označava trenutak uskrisivanja “roda kraljevske krvi”, vraćanje “glave” Kraljevstvu, pa samim time i uspostavu mira, reda i sigurnosti. Generirana na ovakav način, potom reproducirana i prenesena kroz nekoliko generacija, ova će “slika” postati solidan temelj vladarske ideologije u stoljećima koja su dolazila, osiguravajući minimum društvenoga konsenzusa oko pitanja tko i s kojim pravom vlada Hrvatskim Kraljevstvom.

Ideologija i stvarnost

Način na koji se “slika” stvorena Kolomanovim djelovanjem u razdoblju od 1102. do 1105. godine reproducirala i prenosila tijekom 12. i 13. stoljeća danas je teško dokučiti. Naime, tekstovi kakvi su bili onaj zadarskoga Anonima ili natpis na zvoniku crkve samostana Sv. Marije, napisani s ciljem prenošenja informacije budućim pokoljenjima, prava su rijetkost za to doba. Uostalom, vrijeme je to kada je usmena predaja još uvijek bila mnogo pouzdanijim, u smislu dostupnosti informacije, medijem prenošenja takve vrsti složenih poruka. U usporedbi sa stotinama, ili još preciznije tisućama ljudi (uzmu li se u obzir krunidba 1102. te posjete Splitu, Trogiru i Zadru, 1105. godine) koji su sudjelovali ili samo nazočili ceremonijalima i koji su informacije i svoje dojmove prenosili usmenim putem, tekstovi namijenjeni očima i ušima (bezglasno čitanje postalo je normom tek s pojavom tiskane knjige) uskoga kruga pismenih imali su tek neznatan društveni učinak. Dakako, pratiti danas razvoj takve usmene predaje gotovo je nemoguće, jednostavno stoga što njezini elementi tek sporadično prodiru u tadašnje pisane dokumente. Tako se, primjerice, iz niza kasnijih dokumenata može raspoznati kako je upravo kralj Koloman bio taj koji je u Hrvatskome Kraljevstvu uredio način pobiranja kraljevskoga poreza, “marturine”, odredivši točan iznos koji su vlasnici zemlje morali plaćati za svako selište koje su posjedovali. Uspomena je na to bila vrlo živa u vladajućem sloju Kraljevstva još u prvoj polovici 13. stoljeća, pa je čak poziv na Kolomanovu uredbu o reguliranju “marturine” ušao i u čuvenu “Zlatnu bulu” iz 1222. godine (V. Klaić 1904, 155-8). No, uza sve to sačuvani dokumenti ne nude odgovor na pitanje

the king woke up and ceased his attempts to ruin the town. When we compare this story with what was said above, the “story” shows a greater similarity with the way in which the king’s stay at Zadar was depicted in *The Life of St. John of Trogir* (which also speaks about a violent conflict that was resolved only after the saint’s miraculous intervention) than with real events as recorded in contemporary documents. On the other hand, the stress of the whole “story” is centred on the king’s strength and power, which is prevented from destroying the town not by the sturdy defence of its citizens, but by a miraculous intervention on the part of one of the town’s patron saints, which is in line with the ideology relating to rulers in the 13th century.

Returning to the realities of the beginning of the 12th century, we should stress that it is now practically impossible to reconstruct fully what contemporaries saw and understood to be the comprehensive interpretation of the intentions of the author of the spectacle or the reaction of those for whose benefit it was staged. Nevertheless, this does not mean that we should take the difficulties as a sign that we should refrain from attempting to arrive at an interpretation. In the first instance we should note that the events that have been described have two fairly separate dimensions – on the one hand we have the negotiations, which define the framework of the relationship between the king and his subjects, while on the other hand we have the formal confirmation of the agreements reached by means of ceremonial acts. In this second dimension, Koloman’s moves and actions reveal a clear aim of impressing both the townspeople and the entire Croatian Kingdom. Having been crowned as king of Croatia three years earlier, he now seeks to project to his subjects, through royal ceremonies, his own ideal image and all the greatness and power of his royal majesty. Naturally, this ideal image is both complex and multi-layered, with a broad spectrum of elements, ranging from the imminent threat of force in the event of a failure to submit to the ruler’s will, to social peace guaranteed by the king as the sovereign master, promises of fine and rich gifts for those who are most prominent in their loyalty. The complete projection of that ideal image is realised in the ceremony of the king’s entrance into the town, so that it is no accident that the nun Vekenega describes the staging of this ceremony in Zadar as a “triumphal entrance”. It seems that the effect of this on contemporaries was exactly as Koloman had wished it to be. With his actions and behaviour, the king managed to create the impression of the reestablishment of peace and security, and this is clearly borne out in the anonymous writer from Zadar and the nun Vekenega. Specifically, both of them speak about

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– MS. Canon. Bibl. 61, fol. 106 r

je li kralj to pitanje uredio prigodom krunidbe (kada je pripadnike "12 rodova" oslobodio plaćanja tog istog poreza), ili pak na velikome "shodu" pred zadarskim zidinama, jer tekstovi isprava u kojima se to navodi ne daju ni naslutiti u kojoj je i kakvoj formi ta informacija bila prenašana.

Kolomanova uspostava vlasti i uređenje odnosa ostali su tijekom 12. stoljeća referentna točka i u Dalmaciji, pa se još 1180. godine u jednoj izjavi zadarskih građana o tomu koja su područja pripadala rapskoj jurisdikciji izravno poziva na stanje iz doba kada je on ovladao "gradovima Dalmacije" (Diplomatički zbornik, Dodaci I, 52). Iz rijetkih preostalih dokumenata teško je nazrijeti jesu li suvremenici toga bili svjesni, no iz perspektive današnjega povjesničara posve je jasno zašto je uspostava Kolomanove vlasti dobila takvu važnost. Odnos, naime, koji je on uspostavio s priobalnim gradovima bio je stubokom drugačiji od onoga kakav su prema tim istim gradovima imali hrvatski vladari. Tako se prvi ugarsko-hrvatski kralj odrekao "tributa" koji su gradovi plaćali kraljevskome fiskusu još od druge polovice 9. stoljeća. Potom je prestao uzimati taoce od građana, što su njegovi hrvatski prethodnici radili, kako to jasno zasvjedočuje prisega bana i kneza Kledina iz 1105. godine. U Zadru je, čak, prepustio na volju građanima hoće li njegovu posadu pustiti u gradski kaštel ili neće (što nije bio slučaj u Splitu i Trogiru). Konačno, pošto je 1105. godine svoje svjetovne i crkvene velikaše naveo da sve to potvrde svojim prisegama, prigodom sljedećega dolaska u Hrvatsku, 1108. godine, otišao je i korak dalje. Osim toga što je ponovno svečanom prisegom potvrdio ranije uredbe, sada ih je dao zapisati (jedini sačuvani tekst je onaj trogirski – Diplomatički zbornik II, 19). Ukratko, režim koji je Koloman uspostavio bio je podloga na kojoj će tijekom sljedećega stoljeća izrasti slobodna gradska komuna. Stoga nije nikakvo čudo što su gradovi bili čvrsto uporište kraljevske vlasti i oslonac ideje njezine pune legitimnosti, čak i onda kada ugarsko-hrvatski kraljevi, iz različitih razloga, nisu do kraja poštivali uspostavljeni režim odnosa. Dakako, stoljeća povijesti odnosa ugarsko-hrvatskih kraljeva i priobalnih gradova nije lako sažeti u kratak prikaz. Čini se, međutim, da će ono što se može razaznati iz odnosa Trogira i kraljeva Ladislava IV. Kumanca, Andrije III. Mlečanina i Karla Roberta, u razdoblju od nekih dvadesetak godina, od 1285. do 1303. godine, biti dovoljno jasna ilustracija okvira tih odnosa.

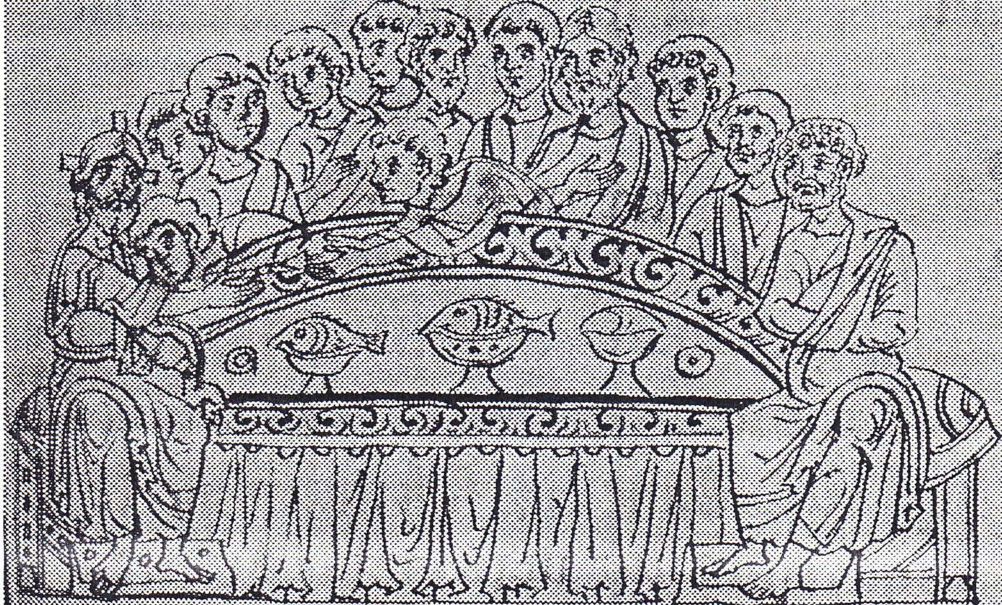
U doba vladavine Ladislava IV. Kumanca autoritet je kraljevske vlasti znatno opao, a kralja su suvremenici optuživali da više vremena provodi s (gotovo posve barbarskim) Kumancima no u obavljanju svojih kraljevskih dužnosti. Za

the peace (the anonymous writer even adds the term "security") that Koloman established with his actions, thus sketching one of the "images" from the collection of "social knowledge" that we mentioned at the beginning of the text. It seems that we can even go a step further in this direction. If we were to use the concepts of Archdeacon Toma and his contemporaries (Ančić, 2002), the death of King Stjepan II in 1091 can be described as the moment of the disappearance of the "family of royal blood" whereby the Croatian Kingdom was "left without leadership" and had therefore fallen into a spiral of disorder and violence. Using these same concepts, Koloman's coronation in 1102 and his journey through Croatia three years later marks the moment of the resurrection of the "family of royal blood", the return of the "head" of the Kingdom, and through this the establishment of peace, order and security. Generated in this way, and then reproduced and transferred through several generations, this "image" became a solid foundation of the ruler's ideology in the coming centuries, securing the minimum of a social consensus concerning the question of who rules over the Croatian Kingdom and with what right.

Ideology and Reality

Today it is difficult to fathom the way in which the "image" created by Koloman's actions in the period between 1002 and 1105 was reproduced and transferred during the 12th and 13th centuries. This is because texts like those by the anonymous author from Zadar or the inscription on the bell tower of the nunnery of St. Mary, which were written with the aim of transmitting information to future generations, are very rare for that period. In any case, this was a time when the oral tradition was seen as a much more reliable medium for transferring such complex messages with respect to the accessibility of the information. In contrast to the hundreds, or to be precise, thousands of people (if we take into account the coronation in 1102 and the visits to Split, Trogir and Zadar in 1105) who took part in these ceremonies or were just present there and who transmitted their impressions verbally, texts intended for eyes and ears (silent reading became the norm only after the advent of printed books) of a very narrow circle had only a very limited effect. It goes without saying that it is now practically impossible to trace the development of this oral tradition, for the simple reason that its elements had only sporadically worked their way into contemporary written documents. Therefore, for example, from a number of later documents we can discern that it was precisely King Koloman who organised the col-

opus sunt nobis ad diem festum ·
aut egenis aliquid daret ; Cum
ergo accepisset ille bucellam
exivit continuo. Erat autē
nox ; Cum ergo exisset dixit
ihs̄ · nunc clarificatus est filius
hominis. et ds̄ clarificatus est
in eo ; Si ds̄ clarificatus ē in eo
et ds̄ clarificavit eum in semet
ipso. et continuo clarificavit
eum ;



njegove vlasti temelje izvanredno velike moći koju će uživati on i njegov sin, sve do 1322. godine, udara hrvatski velikaš Pavao Šubić Bribirski, koji je u ovo doba postao primorski ban. Upravo s te banske pozicije Pavao se upliće i u prijepor između Splita i Trogira koji izbija 1282/83. i koji će potrajati do 1285. godine (Novak 1957, 138-9). Strana na koju je Pavao stao, a stao je iza Trogira, postaje automatski i strana u sukobu koja se smatra "kraljevim vjernim podanicima", jer banov autoritet počiva na činjenici da on reprezentira kralja. Iako prijepor i trzavice između dva grada nisu dobili razmjere stvarnoga sukoba i otvorenoga rata, kakvi su inače između ova dva grada izbijali tijekom 13. stoljeća, uplitanje bana Pavla bitno je promijenilo njihovu dinamiku i značenje. Naime, ono što su stanovnici dva grada mogli tolerirati jedni drugima, primjerice razne oblike odmazde, ban je tumačio drugačije – kao povredu svoje časti i autoriteta, a samim time i uvredu kraljevske časti. Reagirajući na taj način, ban nije mogao izbjeći ni izravno uplitanje kralja, te ga je očigledno o svemu izvijestio, prikazujući u pohvalnome svjetlu ulogu Trogirana u tim zbivanjima, što je Ladislav izravno pohvalio posebnim dokumentom (Diplomatički zbornik VI, 471). Time je sukob, koji je izbio oko zapljene nekoga broda, a koji su stanovnici dva grada u međuvremenu bili spremni međusobno izgladiti, dobio posve novu kvalitetu. Jasno se to osjeća u načinu na koji je formuliran zahtjev bana Pavla, upućen u Trogir u siječnju 1285. godine (Rački 1881, 215). Pavao je, naime, tražio da Trogirani sudjeluju sa svojom vojskom u pohodu protiv Splita, "inače će biti smatrani za (kraljeve) nevjernike kao i Splićani". Gradske su se vlasti našle u vrlo neugodnoj situaciji, pa su uz Vijeće, koje je po naravi stvari raspravljalo o ovakvim problemima, u pomoć pozvani i biskup, kanonici i gradski redovnici. Tako okupljeni skup zaključio je kako se banskome pozivu, iza kojega je stajala kraljevska potpora, mora udovoljiti. Istodobno su, međutim, okupljeni odličnici zaključili da se u Split posebno dojavi kako su bili "prisiljeni ovako činiti, iako stvarno ne žele narušiti postignuti sporazum sa Splićanima". Popustivši tom prigodom, Trogirani su banu morali poslati 40 "dobrih i dobro naoružanih pješaka ... protiv kraljevih nevjernika" i u listopadu, a onda ponovno i 150 vojnika u prosincu iste godine (Rački 1881, 216). Činjenica da sve to ipak nije izazvalo pravi rat između dva grada upućuje na zaključak da je opravdanje o prisilnom ispunjavanju kraljevih naloga, kakvo u to doba po svemu nije bilo rijetkost (usp. Ančić 2001, 156-7), ipak polučilo željeni učinak. Sve ovo što se događalo od 1282. do 1285. godine dobiva svoj puni smisao promotri li se kako su se Trogirani ponašali pošto je 1290. došlo do smjene na kraljevskome prijestolu. Tada, naime, ugarsko-hrvatskim kra-

lection of the royal "marturina" tax in the Croatian Kingdom, defining the exact amount landowners had to pay for each estate that they possessed. The memory of this was still very vivid in the ruling class of the Kingdom in the first half of the 13th century, so that even a reference to Koloman's regulation of the "marturina" tax was made in the famous "Golden Bull" charter from 1222 (V. Klaić, 1904, 155-8). Nevertheless, in spite of all this, the preserved documents do not provide us with the answer to the question of whether the king resolved this question on the occasion of his coronation (when he freed the members of the "12 clans" from the obligation to pay this tax), or at the great assembly ("shod") in front of the Zadar town walls, since the texts of the documents that mention this provide no clues concerning the form in which this information was transmitted.

Koloman's establishment of power and the way in which he regulated relations remained enshrined in people's memories as a reference point during the 12th century even in Dalmatia, so that as late as 1180 a statement on the part of the citizens of Zadar concerning areas that belonged to the jurisdiction of Rab makes a direct reference to the time when he asserted his rule over "the towns of Dalmatia" (Diplomatički zbornik, Dodaci I, 52). It is hard to discern from the rare remaining documents whether contemporaries were aware of this, but viewed from the perspective of today's historian, it is quite clear why the establishment of Koloman's rule was considered so important. Specifically, the relationship that he established with coastal towns was totally different from the one that was practiced by Croatian kings. In this way the first Hungarian and Croatian king renounced his claim to the "tribute" that towns paid to the royal treasury from the second half of the 9th century. Furthermore, he stopped taking hostages from the towns, a practice that was carried out by his Croatian predecessors, as is evident from the oath of *Ban* and Duke Kledin from 1105. In the case of Zadar he even left it to the townspeople to decide whether they would allow his troops into the town citadel or not (and this was not the case in Split and Trogir). Finally, having persuaded his secular and ecclesiastical magnates and prelates to confirm all this by their oaths, on the occasion of his subsequent coming to Croatia he even went a step further. Not only did he repeat his solemn oath confirming his previous decrees, but he also had them recorded in writing (the only preserved text being the one in Trogir – Diplomatički zbornik II, 19). In short, the regime established by Koloman served as the basis on which free town communities would develop in the course of the next century. It is therefore no wonder that the towns became a stronghold of

ljem postaje Andrija III. Mlečanin, kojemu će biti osporeno nasljedno pravo na krunu. Jedan od prvih velikaša koji će novome kralju otkazati poslušnost bit će upravo ban Pavao, pa se slobodno može reći kako nakon 1291./92. godine Andrija više nije bio u stanju provesti svoju volju južno od Kapele i gornjega toka Une, gdje je pravi "gospodar" postao ban Pavao. On doduše nije otkazao poslušnost ugarsko-hrvatskome kralju, već samo osobi za koju je smatrao da ne zaslužuje taj položaj, pa je pristao uz one koji su tumačili kako je pravo na kraljevsku krunu, po ženskoj liniji, prešlo na napuljski ogranak francuske dinastije Anžuvinaca. U međuvremenu je Pavao promijenio, ili posve precizno, proširio svoju titulu, pa se sada, osim primorskim banom, stao nazivati i "gospodarom Hrvata" (Diplomatički zbornik VII, 203). Svojoj je braći uspio osigurati titularna kneževstva u primorskim gradovima, u kojima je uz to imao i vrlo stvaran utjecaj, koji se više nije temeljio na autoritetu proizašlom iz delegiranja kraljevskih ovlasti, već na stvarnoj moći koja se nerijetko oslanjala na izravnu uporabu ili prijetnju silom. No, kada je u listopadu 1292. godine na hrvatsku obalu Jadrana prispjelo poslanstvo kralja Karla Martela, oca novoga pretendenta na ugarsko-hrvatsku krunu koji je uživao punu potporu i bana Pavla, pokazalo se što znači legitimitet kraljevskoga položaja. Naime, poslanstvo je prvo u Splitu zatražilo prisegu vjernosti novome kralju, što je Splićane stavilo na nemalu kušnju, te su se oni za pomoć i savjet obratili Trogiranima. Tijekom diskusije u trogirskome Velikom vijeću ustao je stanoviti Toma Zarniche i predložio da se u Split pošalje poklisar koji će napuljskome izaslanstvu objasniti da je običaj "tko se učini kraljem Ugarske, po običaju se okruni u tome (Stolnom Biogradu) gradu; tako (i mi) namjeravamo biti podanici onomu tko se okruni za vladanje u Ugarskoj" (Rački, 1881, 219-20). Prijedlog je prihvaćen, a prihvaćen je i prijedlog da se isto objašnjenje po posebnome poklisaru proslijedi i banu Pavlu. Od tada pa sve do smrti Andrija III. je u svim primorskim gradovima važio za legitimnoga kralja, njegovo se ime unosilo u datume gradskih isprava, njemu su se u crkvama pjevale pohvalne pjesme (*laudae*) o blagdanima, iako čak ni gradski knezovi (odreda Pavlovi srodnici) nisu priznavali njegovu vlast i kraljevsku titulu. Situacija se nije promijenila ni nakon Andrijine smrti i dolaska Karla Roberta, novoga pretendenta na krunu, kojega su upravo Šubići prihvatili pri dolasku i čak mu osigurali pratnju sve do Zagreba 1301. godine. Formalno je kao kralj Karlo Roberto priznat tek kada je splitski nadbiskup, na papinski poticaj, u kolovozu 1303. zaprijetio da će sve javne bilježnike po dalmatinskim gradovima izopćiti iz crkve ako ne počnu u svoje isprave unositi njegovo ime. Tek je takva prijetnja prisilila, primjerice,

royal power and the mainstay of the idea of its full legitimacy, even when the kings of Hungary and Croatia, for various reasons, did not fully respect the established regime of relations. Naturally, the centuries that cover the history of the relations between the kings of Hungary and Croatia and coastal towns cannot be simply summarised in this brief text. Nevertheless, it seems that the relationship between Trogir and kings Ladislas IV the Cuman, Andrew III the Venetian, and Charles Robert, all in the span of some twenty years, between 1285 and 1303, provides a clear illustration of these relationships.

During the reign of Ladislas IV the Cuman the authority of royal power was greatly diminished, and contemporaries accused the king of spending more time with the (almost completely barbaric) Cumans than in performing his royal duties. During his reign, the Croatian magnate Pavao Šubić Bribirski, who at that time became the coastal *ban,* set the foundations for the exceptionally great power that he and his son enjoyed. It is from his position as *ban* that Pavao interceded in the dispute between Split and Trogir that started in 1282-83 and which would last until 1285 (Novak, 1957, 138-9). The party that Pavao would side with, and he sided with Trogir, automatically became the party in the dispute that saw itself as "the king's loyal subjects", since the *ban's* authority derives from the fact that he represents the king. Although the dispute and the friction between the two towns never developed into an actual conflict and open war, as was the case between the two towns during the 13th century, the intercession of *Ban* Pavao essentially altered its dynamics and significance. Specifically, that which the inhabitants of the two towns were able to tolerate in their relations – various forms of retaliation, for example – could only have been interpreted by the *ban* as an insult to his honour and authority, and, consequently, as an insult to the crown. Reacting in this way the *ban* could not avoid the direct involvement of the king, so that he obviously kept him informed about everything, depicting in a favourable light the role of the people of Trogir, which Ladislas expressly congratulated in a separate document (Diplomatički zbornik IV, 471). In this way, the conflict that arose from the seizure of a ship, a conflict that the people of the two towns were, in the meantime, prepared to settle between themselves, gained a completely new quality. This can be clearly seen from the way in which *Ban* Pavao formulated his demand to Trogir in January 1285 (Rački, 1881, 215). Namely, Pavao had demanded that the people of Trogir contribute their troops to the expedition against Split, "otherwise they would be considered to be as disloyal to the king as the people of Split were". The town

trogirske vlasti da svojim javnim bilježnicima nalože ubuduće u isprave unositi Karlovo ime, a notar Siroctus je spremno izjavio kako "hoće tako postupiti i ne želi biti ekskomuniciran" (Rački 1881, 221). Uza sve ovo valja svakako pripomenuti kako se u gradovima "slika" kralja, a pri tomu se misli na kolektivne predodžbe vezane uz mjesto kralja u društvu, njegov odnos spram gradske zajednice i ulogu u njezinu životu, reproducirala i prenosila od 12. do početka 15. stoljeća i u jednoj posebnoj vrsti ceremonijala. Naime, kralj je u grad, zajednicu koja se od ostatka svijeta ogradila i odvojila visokim zidom, vrlo stvarnim branikom slobode i autonomije, ulazio u posebno aranžiranoj i osmišljenoj proceduri, poznatoj pod nazivom "ulazak kralja u grad". U takvim se prigodama, koje su se promatračima živo i duboko usijecale u pamćenje, kralj pokazivao u svom sjaju i raskoši svoje moći i bogatstva. Bio je to simbolički izraz u cijeloj Europi sve do 13. stoljeća raširenoga shvaćanja o posebnosti "kraljevske krvi", shvaćanja po kojemu je kralj bio neka vrst "poluboga" (*quasi semideus* – usp. Ančić 2002). Stoga nije nikakvo čudo što je 1105. godine takav ceremonijal u izvedbi kralja Kolomana opatica Vekenega opisala kao "trijumf".

Vraćajući se ovime ponovno na Kolomanovo djelovanje kako bismo izvukli konačne zaključke o trajnim posljedicama njegovih čina, valja još naznačiti kako se njegovo ime pojavljuje i na razini pučke predaje. Tako se, primjerice, ono vezivalo uz cestu koja je iz Čazme, preko Garešnice i Velike, vodila u Pakrac, a u samoj je Čazmi postojao čak i "Kolomanov most" (Diplomatički zbornik III, 12; IV, 41; V, 536, 575). Dakako, dokumenti u kojima se most i cesta spominju kao granične točke pojedinih posjeda ne otkrivaju kako se i zašto kraljevo ime vezivalo za te objekte, kao što nam i inače ne otkrivaju gotovo ništa o pučkim predajama i legendama. No, bez obzira na ovakve i slične poteškoće i nepoznanice, konačni je učinak postupaka prvoga ugarsko-hrvatskog kralja, a potom i svih ovih i sličnih predaja, priča i legendi nastalih temeljem toga, bio jasan. U krugu koji smo ranije označili kao "politički narod" one su čvrsto ukorijenile shvaćanje sukladno kojemu dinastiji Arpadovih nasljednika po punome Božjem i ljudskom pravu pripada vlast nad Hrvatskim Kraljevstvom – oni su, ukratko, pripadali "rodu kraljevske krvi". U izgradnji vladarske ideologije, međutim, realnost povijesnoga gibanja, onako kako se ovdje pokušala rekonstruirati temeljem sačuvanih dokumenata, nije imala mjesta. U toj dimenziji pravo Arpadovih nasljednika na Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo (*regnum Dalmatiae et Croatiae*) izvodilo se isključivo iz vojnih pohoda, koji su prerogativ onih u čijim žilama kola "kraljevska krv". Njihovu su veličinu i moć, između ostaloga, definirali uspjesi postignuti na bojnom polju, pa stoga u

authorities found themselves in a very delicate situation so that they called for a meeting of the Town Council to which they invited the bishop, the body of canons and the town monks. This assembly concluded that the *ban's* demand, which was backed by royal support, had to be accepted. Nevertheless, at the same time they decided to notify Split that "they were forced to act in this way, although they actually do not want to break the agreement reached with the people of Split". In bowing to pressure on this occasion, the town of Trogir had to send forty "strong and well-armed foot-soldiers... against those disloyal to the king", and then later on another 150 soldiers in December of that same year (Rački, 1881, 216). The fact that in spite of all this there was no real war between the two towns leads us to the conclusion that the justification that they were forced to acquiesce to the king's orders - a situation that was, by all accounts, not uncommon at the time (cf. Ančić, 2001, 156-7) – was nevertheless accepted. All these events from the period between 1282 and 1285 can be seen in their true light when we view the actions of the people of Trogir after a new king took the throne in 1290. It was then that Andrew III the Venetian became king of Hungary and Croatia, and his claim to the throne was to be challenged. One of the first magnates who openly defied the new king was none other than *Ban* Pavao, so that we can say that after 1291-92, Andrew was no longer in a position to exert his will south of the Kapela Mountain and the upper flow of the river Una, where the real "master" became *Ban* Pavao. It should be noted that he did not disavow his obedience to the king of Hungary and Croatia, but only to the person who he considered undeserving of the throne, so that he sided with those who claimed that the right to the royal throne had, by virtue of the female line, passed to the Neapolitan branch of the French dynasty of Anjou. In the meantime Pavao had changed, or more precisely, extended his title, so that he began to call himself not only the *ban* of the coastal region, but also the "lord of the Croats" (Diplomatički zbornik VII, 203). He managed to secure titular principalities for his brother in coastal towns in which he also held a very real influence, an influence that was no longer based on the authority derived from the delegation of royal authority, but on real power that was on many occasions based on the actual use or threat of force. However, when the delegation of King Charles Martel, the father of the new pretender to the crown of Hungary and Croatia, who enjoyed the full support of *Ban* Pavao, landed on Croatian shores in October of 1292, the full meaning of the legitimacy of the king's position was revealed. Specifically, the delegation had, first of all, demanded that the town

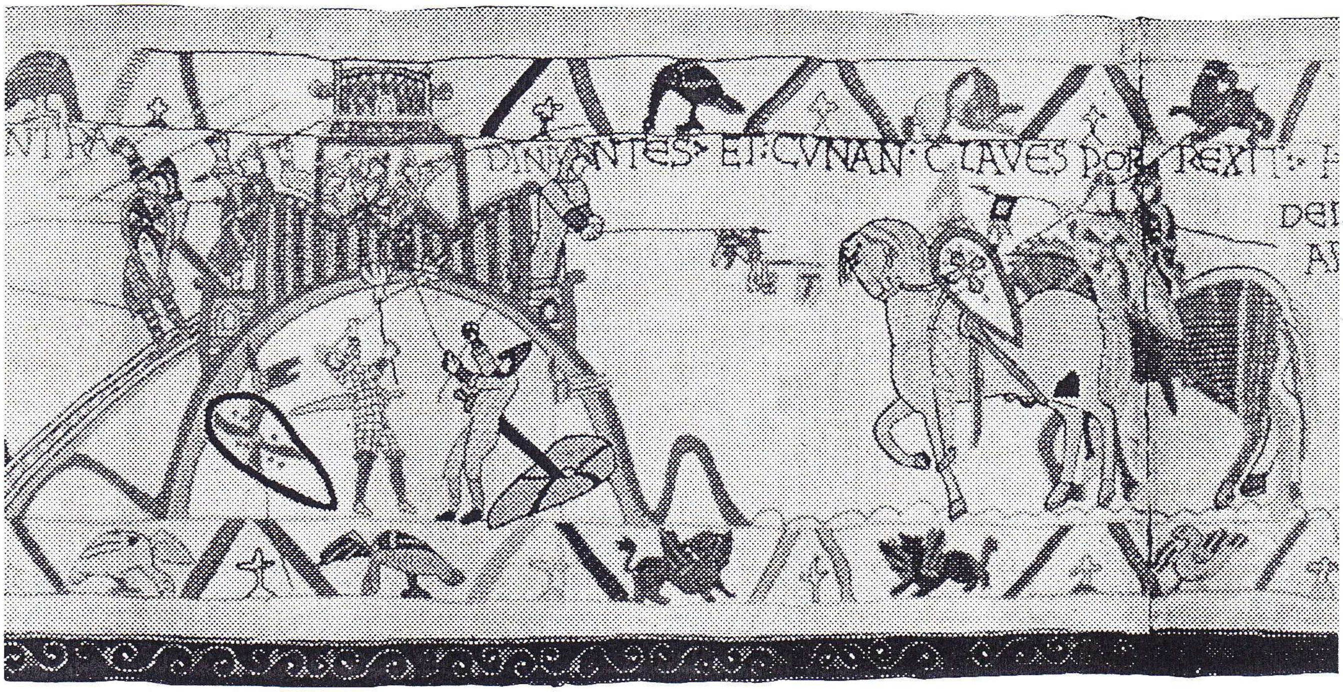
tekstovima koji ocrtavaju tu ideologiju niti ne treba tražiti nijansirane prikaze koji govore o prijetnji silom, pregovorima i ustupcima. Upravo tako "osvajanje" Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva i opisuju dvojica autora druge polovice 13. stoljeća, slična po mnogočemu, a između ostaloga i po tomu što su, doduše na različite načine, održavali čvrste veze s dvorom Arpadovića. Riječ je, dakako, o Splićaninu Tomi arciđakonu i ugarskome kroničaru Šimunu de Kezi. Njihovi prikazi tih zbivanja, iako na prvi pogled vrlo različiti, imaju nekoliko dodirnih točki koje govore o istom duhovnom miljeu iz kojega su crpili svoje informacije. I Toma i Šimun govore o sukobu kralja Ladislava s Kumanima (1091. godine), i oba govore o tomu da je Koloman *osvojio* Hrvatsku. Razlike, pak, u prikazima zbivanja proizlaze iz razlika u nakanama koje su si oba autora postavila pri pisanju svojih djela. Toma, naime, piše povijest svoga grada i njegove crkve, a kako taj grad pripada Hrvatskome Kraljevstvu, to je i njegov interes za zbivanja na prijelomu 11. i 12. stoljeća velik. On polazi od toga kako su ugarski kraljevi stekli Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo i svoju priču dovodi do one točke koja ga najviše zanima – trenutka kada je ugarski kralj ušao u njegov grad i podložio ga svojoj vlasti. Šimun, međutim, piše *povijest Ugra* na način koji je nov za njegovo vrijeme, što modernome povjesničaru daje za pravo ustvrditi kako se s njegovim djelom u Ugarskoj rađa "srednjovjekovni nacionalizam" (Szücs 1975). Njega, zapravo, niti ne zanima Hrvatska ni ono što se u njoj događalo. On stoga samo notira kako je kralj *Ugra* osvojio i svojoj vlasti podložio to Kraljevstvo, da bi potom nastavio opisivati uspjehe toga istog kralja. Iz tako različito postavljenih ciljeva pisanja, dakle, proizlaze i razlike u odabiru informacija kojima se Toma i Šimun koriste. No, isti osnovni duh njihovih prikaza (Kolomanovo "osvajanje") i iste činjenice (rat s Kumanima 1091. godine) kojima se koriste otkrivaju zajedničko vrelo u pozadini (u Tominu slučaju nedvojbeno obogaćeno i lokalnim tradicijama). Riječ je očigledno o nekoj vrsti predaje, možda čak i pisanoga teksta, koji je ocrtavao vladarsku ideologiju kakva je tijekom 12. i 13. stoljeća izgrađena na dvoru Arpadovića.

Pravo na vladanje Hrvatskim Kraljevstvom, objašnjeno ideologijski na ovakav način, u stvarnosti je značilo da Arpadovi nasljednici pobiru kraljevske tribute, uživaju kraljevske posjede, postavljaju i smjenjuju dužnosnike koji provode njihovu vladarsku volju i osiguravaju mir zemlji. Rijetki sačuvani dokumenti 12. stoljeća pokazuju kako su se kod donošenja odluka kraljevi nove dinastije znali pozivati na odluke, tradicije i običaje iz vremena vladavine kraljeva Petra Krešimira IV. i Zvonimira. No, upravo tijekom 12. stoljeća, ili još preciznije nekako od 50-ih godina, može se zamijetiti jedan novi trend u odnosu prema tradicijama Trpimirovića.

of Split swear an oath of allegiance to the new king, and this placed the townspeople in a delicate predicament so they asked for help and advice from Trogir. During discussions in the Great Assembly in Trogir, a man by the name of Toma Zarniche proposed that an ambassador be sent to Split who would explain to the Neapolitan delegation that it was the custom for "whosoever became the king of Hungary to be crowned in Székesfehérvar; and that we intend to be the subjects of the person who is crowned to reign in Hungary" (Rački, 1881, 219-20). This proposal was adopted, along with the suggestion that the same explanation be sent by special messenger to *Ban* Pavao. From that time to his death, Andrew III was accepted as the legitimate king in all coastal towns, and his name was entered into the dates in town documents and his praise *(laudae)* was sung in churches during holidays, although not even the town princes (all of them Pavao's relatives) did not recognise his authority and royal title. The situation did not change even after Andrew's death and the coming of Charles Robert, the new pretender to the crown, who was met by the Šubić family on his arrival; the family even provided and escort for him all the way to Zagreb in 1301. Charles Robert was formally accepted as king only in August of 1303 when the archbishop of Split, at the suggestion of the pope, threatened to excommunicate all the public notaries if they did not enter Charles' name in their documents, and a notary named Siroctus readily stated that "he will do as ordered because he does not wish to be excommunicated" (Rački, 1881, 221). Here we should also mention that in towns the "image" of the king, and by this we mean the collective notion associated with the place of the king in society, his relationship towards the town community and his role in its life, was also reproduced and transmitted from the 12th to the beginning of the 15th century in a special form of ceremony. Specifically, the king had entered a town, a community that had separated itself from the rest of the world by a high wall - a very real bulwark of freedom and autonomy – through a specially arranged and designed procedure known as the "king's entrance into the town". On these occasions, which were firmly embedded into the consciousness of spectators, the king was displayed in all the glory and splendour of his power and wealth. This was in all of Europe during the entire period up to the 13th century a symbolic expression of the widespread belief in the special nature of "royal blood", a belief according to which the king was a "demigod" of sorts *(quasi semideus* – cf. Ančić, 2002). It is therefore no wonder that in 1105 the nun Vekenega described the ceremony as performed by King Koloman as a "triumph".

U kratkome su roku, naime, kraljevi Geza II. i Stjepan III. razdijelili i ispoklanjali dio (ne znamo koliki, jer ne znamo ni koliko ih je stvarno bilo) vladarskih crkava i samostana koje su do tada kontrolirali kao nasljednici stare dinastije. Tako je Geza II. 1158. godine splitskome nadbiskupu i njegovoj crkvi odjednom poklonio vladarske samostane Sv. Bartula kod Knina (nekadašnji dobro poznati *monasterium regale*) te Sv. Petra i Sv. Mojsija kod Solina, ali i samostan Sv. Stjepana na Otoku u Solinu, koji je uključivao i kraljevski mauzolej u crkvi Sv. Marije (Diplomatički zbornik II, 87-8). Između 1164. i 1168. godine Stjepan III. je poklonio templarima vranski samostan Sv. Grgura, isti onaj u kojemu su se čuvale insignije hrvatskih kraljeva kojima se 1102. godine okrunio Koloman (Diplomatički zbornik II, 125). Valja ovdje odmah pripomenuti kako je darivanje vranskoga samostana i dovođenje templara koliko-toliko razumljivo u kontekstu tadašnjega kraljeva sukoba s bizantskim carem Emanuelom Komnenom. Tijekom su toga sukoba čak i ratne operacije vođene u i oko same Vrane (Makk 98 i d.), a templari su nekako u isto doba dobili i druge posjede upravo u onim krajevima koji su bili ugroženi od bizantskoga cara (Dobronić 1984, 26). Iz toga se može naslutiti kako je Stjepan III. računao da će se templari, redom vitezovi pristigli iz zapadnoeuropskih zemalja, žestoko opirati bizantskome caru. No, utoliko su manje jasni razlozi koji su Gezu II. nagnali da se riješi starih vladarskih samostana i crkava u kojima se čuvala uspomena na vladare 10. i 11. stoljeća. Pri tomu ne bi trebalo odbaciti mogućnost da je Gezina odluka u pozadini ipak imala neku vrst manipulacije vladarskim crkvama, koje su u to doba imale veliku društvenu snagu moćnoga simbola. Takva vrst manipulacije može se naslutiti u daljnjoj sudbini jedne od crkava koju je Geza II. poklonio splitskome nadbiskupu, one Sv. Bartula kod Knina. Četrdesetak godina nakon Gezina darivanja, naime oko 1200. godine, tu je istu crkvu tadašnji hrvatski herceg Andrija, sin već pokojnoga kralja Bele III. i brat kralja Emerika, oduzeo splitskome nadbiskupu i predao kninskome biskupu, kako bi tu bili izgrađeni nova katedrala, biskupska rezidencija i kaptol (Ančić 1996, 74-6). Herceg Andrija, koji je žestoki sukob s bratom doveo do razine otvorenoga rata, svjesno je manipulirao osjećajima zasebnosti svojih podanika u Hrvatskome Kraljevstvu, nastojeći na taj način osigurati njihovu lojalnost i motivirati ih za sukob s kraljevskim snagama. Takva se strategija može jasno razabrati iz relativno brojnih dokumenata što ih je herceg ispostavio u razdoblju od 1198. do 1202. godine (ukupno 12 dokumenata), ali i iz svega onoga što je poduzimao oko popunjavanja upražnjene stolice zadarskoga nadbiskupa, a potom regulirajući status Hvarske biskupije. U tome je smislu

This takes us back to Koloman's actions so that we can draw the final conclusions about the permanent consequences of his acts, and here we can add that his name also appears on the level of folk tradition. So, for example, his name was associated with a road that led from Čazma, Garešnica and Velika all the way to Pakrac, while in Čazma itself there was even "Koloman's Bridge" (Diplomatički zbornik III, 12; IV, 41; V, 536, 575). Naturally, the documents in which the bridge and the road are mentioned as boundaries of individual estates do not reveal why the king's name was associated with them, in the same way that they do not reveal anything about folk traditions and legends. However, regardless of these and similar difficulties and imponderables, the ultimate effect of the actions of the first king of Hungary and Croatia, and then also of all these and similar traditions, stories and legends that developed on this basis was clear. Among those who we have already labelled as the "body politic", they firmly installed the understanding according to which the dynasty of Arpad's heirs were entitled by the right given by God and man to rule over the Croatian Kingdom – in short, they belonged to the "family of royal blood". However, in developing the ruler's ideology there was no room for the reality of the course of history as we have tried to reconstruct it here on the basis of preserved documents. In this dimension the right of Arpad's successors to the Croatian Kingdom *(regnum Dalmatiae et Croaticae)* was derived exclusively from military campaigns, which are the prerogative of those with "royal blood" in their veins. Their greatness and might were, amongst other things, defined by successes on the battlefield, so that in texts that describe this ideology we should not look for descriptions that bring nuances and deal with the threat of force, negotiations and concessions. It is precisely this form of the "conquest" of the Croatian Kingdom that is described by two authors from the 13th century, who had many similarities, including the fact that they both, albeit in different ways, maintained strong relations with court of the Arpad dynasty. We are, of course, referring to Archdeacon Toma of Split and the Hungarian chronicler Simon of Keza. Their descriptions of these events, although at first sight very different, share a common ground in several instances that speak about the same spiritual milieu from which they drew their information. Both Toma and Simon deal with the conflict between King Koloman and the Cumans (1091), and both state that Koloman "conquered" Croatia. However, the differences in the depictions of the events derive from differences in the intentions that the authors set themselves in writing their works. Specifically, Toma was writing a history of his town and its church, and since


DINANTES ET CVNAN CLAVES POR

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indikativna isprava iz 1198. godine kojom herceg potvrđuje da Hvarska biskupija pripada jurisdikciji splitskoga nadbiskupa i u kojoj objašnjava kako je do te informacije došao "iskazom ... biskupa Dalmacije i svih prvaka Hrvata" (Diplomatički zbornik II, 309-10). U takvu svjetlu, dakle, čini se da ni oduzimanje nekadašnjega samostana Sv. Bartula i njegova predaja kninskome biskupu nisu bili slučajni i nasumični čin, već osmišljena i proračunata manipulacija moćnim simbolom – "kraljevskome samostanu" vraćen je ugled i sjaj time što je pretvoren u katedralnu crkvu. No, ovakvu djelovanju hercega Andrije brzo je došao kraj, i to onoga trenutka kada se i sam uspio popeti na kraljevski prijestol, pa danas nije moguće utvrditi kakav su stvarni učinak polučile zamisli ambicioznoga mladića.

Ne treba, međutim, previše razmišljati o tomu je li Andrija u ulozi hercega razmišljao o eventualnome osamostaljivanju Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva. Tako nešto bilo je već krajem 12. stoljeća teško zamislivo, a sve upućuje na to da je mladićeva ambicija bila uokvirena dinastičkim idejama o "rodu kraljevske krvi" i usmjerena prije svega na krunu i prijestol, kojih se na kraju i uspio dočepati. Dinastički je kult, kao izravno promicanje ideje o "rodu kraljevske krvi", uvelike ovisio o crkvi, koja je osiguravala Božju potvrdu posebnosti kraljevskoga roda, posebice naglašenu činjenicom da su čak dvojica između Arpadovih nasljednika proglašena svecima.

this town is a part of the Croatian Kingdom, he shows a great interest in the events from the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century. He starts out from the way in which Hungarian kings gained the Croatian Kingdom and leads his story to the point that is of greatest interest to him – the moment when the Hungarian king came to his town and subjected it to his authority. Simon, however, wrote the *history of the Hungarians* in a way that was new in his time, and this allows modern historians to conclude that his work marked the birth of "mediaeval nationalism" in Hungary (Szücs, 1975). He is, in fact, not interested in Croatia or what transpired there. Thus he only notes that the king of the *Hungarians* conquered and subdued that Kingdom to his authority and goes on to describe the successes of that same king. And so, the differences in the selection of information that Toma and Simon use derive from these different aims of writing. However, the same basic spirit of their depictions (Koloman's "conquest") and the same facts (the war with the Cumans in 1091) they use reveal a common source in the background (in Toma's case this was certainly enriched by local traditions). Here we are evidently dealing with some form of oral tradition, or maybe even a written text, which set the framework for the ruling ideology that was developed at the court of the Arpad dynasty during the 12th and 13th centuries.

U kojoj se mjeri i u Hrvatskoj ukorijenio takav kult, dade se naslutiti već iz činjenice da su dva najvažnija (ostave li se po strani priobalni gradovi) upravno-administrativna i crkvena središta onodobne Hrvatske, Zagreb i Knin, resile crkve Sv. Stjepana kralja. O okolnostima pod kojima je zagrebačka katedrala dobila posvetu danas nažalost ne znamo ništa, pa ne znamo čak ni to je li starija crkva koju je kralj Ladislav tu zatekao već bila posvećena svetom kralju. Isti problemi javljaju se i oko kninske crkve Sv. Stjepana kralja, koja doduše nije postala katedralnom crkvom, ali je zato bila župna crkva samoga Knina i sjedište hrvatskoga plemićkog sudišta u 14. stoljeću (Ančić 1996, 68). Građevina danas ne postoji, a ono malo kamenoga namještaja iz nekadašnje crkve, s dijelovima posvetnoga natpisa, nosi značajke koje njihov postanak vremenski opredjeljuje na kraj 11. ili početak 12. stoljeća (Jakšić 2000, 23-6). S takvim datiranjem, međutim, nismo na ništa sigurnijem terenu glede vremena podizanja crkve i njezine prvotne posvete. Gradnja se, naime, crkve, pa i posveta svetomu kralju, unutar tako postavljenih vremenskih okvira još uvijek može smjestiti i u doba vladavine kralja Zvonimira. Njegova ženidba ugarskom princezom, ali i veze koje je stvorio i izgradio na toj strani, mogli bi biti razlogom zašto su i kninska, pa možda čak i zagrebačka crkva, već daleko prije 1091. godine dobile posvetu utemeljitelju Ugarskoga Kraljevstva. Načini, međutim, na koje se dinastički kult reproducirao i prenosio bili su daleko raznolikiji od posvete crkava u najvažnijim gradskim središtima. Jedan od njih otkriva nedavno pronađena olovna kutijica-relikvijar što je stajala u oltarnome stupu crkvice Sv. Kuzme i Damjana, u Kaštel Gomilici kod Splita (Belamarić 2002). Crkvica je podignuta potkraj sedmoga desetljeća 12. stoljeća na posjedu koji je pripadao ženskome benediktinskom samostanu Sv. Benedikta iz Splita. Zna se da ju je 1160. godine posvetio tadašnji splitski nadbiskup Absalon, koji je na tome položaju zamijenio oboljeloga Gaudija. Gaudije, iako podrijetlom Splićanin, bio je "rado viđen od kraljeva Ugarske ... i često je boravio na njihovu dvoru". Kada je obolio, utočište je našao upravo u samostanu Sv. Benedikta, a zamijenio ga je Absalon, za kojega Toma arciđakon veli da je "rođenjem Ugrin". Tko je od ove dvojice poklonio samostanu relikviju Sv. Stjepana kralja, danas je nemoguće reći. Je li ju je, kao nagradu za vjernost i odanost, za jednoga od boravaka na dvoru dobio Gaudije, ili ju je Absalon ponio sa sobom odlazeći za Split, kako bi gestom poklona takve dragocjenosti osigurao polaznu poziciju u sredini u koju je dolazio? Izvjesno je samo to da su redovnice poklonjenu relikviju odmah iskoristile i, uz relikvije Majke Božje i svetaca kojima je crkvica bila posvećena (Kuzme i Damjana), uložile je u oltarni stup novosagrađene crkve,

The right to rule over the Croatian Kingdom, explained ideologically in this way, in actual fact meant that Arpad's successors collected royal tribute, held royal estates and appointed and dismissed officials who implemented their sovereign will and secured peace in the land. The rare preserved documents from the 12th century show that in making decisions, the kings from the new dynasty referred to decisions, traditions and customs from the time of the rule of kings Petar Krešimir IV and Zvonimir. However, it was precisely during the 12th century, or to be more precise, from around the 1150s, that we can discern a new trend in the relationship towards the traditions of the House of Trpimir. Specifically, in a very short period of time kings Geza II and Stephen III divided and gave away a part of the ruler's churches and monasteries that they controlled as successors to the old dynasty (we don't know how large this part was since we don't know how many there were to begin with). In this way in 1158 Geza II had given the royal abbeys of St. Bartholomew near Knin (the formerly well-known *monasterium regale)* and of St. Peter and St. Moses near Solin, as well as the abbey of St. Stephen of the Island in Solin, which included the royal mausoleum in the church of St. Mary (Diplomatički zbornik II, 87-8). Between 1164 and 1168 Stephen III gave the Templars the abbey of St. Gregory at Vrana, the same abbey that kept the insignia of Croatian kings that were used by Koloman at his coronation in 1102 (Diplomatički zbornik II, 125). At this point we should mention that the donation of the abbey at Vrana and the bringing in of Templars is understandable up to a point in the context of the king's conflict with the Byzantine emperor Emmanuel Comninos. During this conflict battles were fought even around Vrana (Makk, 98 and ff), while the Templars had about the same time received other estates in areas that were under threat from the Byzantine emperor (Dobronić, 1984, 26). From this we can conclude that Stephen III counted on the Templars, being knights from west European countries, to bitterly oppose the Byzantine emperor. However, this makes it all the more unclear why Geza II felt moved to get rid of old royal abbeys and churches that held the memory of rulers from the 10th and 11th centuries. Here we should not discount the possibility that Geza's decision had as its aim some form of manipulation with respect to royal churches, which at that time had great social power as a powerful symbol. This form of manipulation is hinted at in the subsequent fate that befell one of the churches that Geza II gave to the archbishop of Split, the church of St. Bartholomew near Knin. Some forty years after Geza's bequest, sometime around 1200, the Croatian duke Andrew, the son of the late King kako su to već zahtijevala važeća pravila. Nema dvojbe da je obredu posvećenja crkve, i u sklopu njega polaganju relikvijara, moralo biti nazočno mnoštvo svijeta, i to ne samo iz okolnih naselja već i iz samoga Splita. Uostalom, danas se pothvate kakav je bio gradnja ruralne crkvice Sv. Kuzme i Damjana smatra jednim od načina na koji je grad osvajao okolni prostor (Belamarić 2002, 207), pa je već i iz toga razloga nazočnost istaknutijih građana pri tako važnom obredu bila stvar koja se razumijeva sama po sebi. Svi su okupljeni također morali znati koje se relikvije stavljaju u stup, jer su se ti isti sveci kasnije i molili za zagovor na "onome svijetu". Dakako, značenje, pa i sve konotacije i asocijacije, koje su za suvremenike i njihove nasljednike imale ovakve prigode, izgubljene su za današnjeg čovjeka, i teško da se na bilo koji način mogu rekonstruirati. Posve je, međutim, sigurno jedan od učinaka bio učvršćivanje vjerovanja da Božja providnost stoji iza vladavine kraljeva koji pripadaju rodu što je dao čak i svece. Drugi način reproduciranja i širenja kulta svetaca iz "roda kraljevske krvi" otkrivaju najstariji popisi dragocjenosti riznice zagrebačke katedrale, sa samoga kraja 14. i iz prve četvrtine 15. stoljeća (Tkalčić 1881). U njima se, između ostaloga, jasno može razabrati posebno, raskošno uređeno misno ruho i liturgijski predmeti (misnica s dalmatikom, par biskupskih rukavica, benedikcional – knjiga blagoslova što ih obavlja biskup – Tkalčić 1881, 120, 122, 123), koje su u najsvečanijim prigodama predvodeći službu Božju nosili i rabili biskupi. U dobu u kojem je crkvena liturgija daleko nadilazila značenje religijskoga obreda, pa se stoga s pravom govori i o njezinoj "sceničnoj upečatljivosti" (Stošić 1994, 120), nije teško zamisliti dojam, ali i priče i legende, koje su izazivali i ujedno okruživali takve predmete. U tome kontekstu valja promatrati i čuvenu, do danas sačuvanu, misnicu napravljenu od "plašta Sv. Ladislava kralja". Ta misnica se, najvjerojatnije, već odavna prestala rabiti u liturgijske svrhe, no zacijelo je bila prikazivana u prigodama blagdana koji su na ovaj ili onaj način bili vezani uz kraljevsku vlast. S druge strane, unesak u popis rizničkih dragocjenosti, u kojem se posebno naglašava da je jedna luksuzna misnica bila dar "starije kraljice" (Elizabete, majke Ludovika Velikog – Tkalčić 1881, 122), jasno daje do znanja na kojoj su cijeni bili predmeti koji su se vezivali uz vladare.

Oslonac koji su za vladavinu u Hrvatskoj Arpadovići našli u crkvi bio je, međutim, daleko širi od onoga što su nudile eventualne manipulacije starim vladarskim sakralnim objektima ili pak podržavanje dinastičkoga kulta Sv. Stjepana kralja. Unatoč prisegama koje su gradovima nakon Kolomana ponavljali svi budući kraljevi, prenoseći ih i u medij pisane riječi i formu kraljevskoga privilegija, a u kojima je sloboda izbora

Bela III and the brother of King Emerik, took this church from the archbishop of Split and gave it to the bishop of Knin to enable the building of a new cathedral, bishop's residence and a complex for the body of canons (Ančić, 1996, 74-6). Duke Andrew, who brought a bitter dispute with his brother to the level of open war, consciously manipulated the feelings of his subjects in the Croatian Kingdom, trying to use this to secure their loyalty and to motivate them for a conflict with the king's forces. This strategy can clearly be discerned from the relatively many documents that the duke issued in the period from 1198 to 1202 (12 documents in all), as well as from all his actions concerning the appointment of a new archbishop in the Archdiocese of Zadar and in regulating the status of the Diocese of Hvar. An indicative document in this sense is the one from 1198 in which the duke confirms that the diocese in Hvar belongs to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Split and explains that he received this information "from the statement... of the bishops of Dalmatia and all the leading figures among the Croats" (Diplomatički zbornik II, 309-10). And so, in light of these facts it would seem that not even the taking away of the former abbey of St. Bartholomew and its transfer to the bishop of Knin were accidental acts but rather planned and calculated manipulations using a powerful symbol – the "royal abbey's" reputation and splendour were restored by it being made into a cathedral. However, these activities on the part of Duke Andrew soon came to an end at the moment when he managed to take over the throne, so that it now impossible to determine the actual effect of the ideas of this ambitious young man.

Nevertheless, we should not give too much thought to whether Andrew as duke had considered the possible independence of the Croatian Kingdom. Something like that would have been hardly conceivable at the end of the 12th century, and all evidence seems to point to the fact that the young man's ambition was framed by dynastic ideas concerning the "line of royal blood" and directed primarily at the crown and throne, which he eventually managed to secure for himself. The dynastic cult, as the direct promotion of the idea concerning the "line of royal blood", was greatly dependent on the church, which secured the divine confirmation of the special nature of the royal line and which was particularly emphasised by the fact that no less than two of Arpad's successors were canonised as saints. The extent to which this cult took root in Croatia can be seen from the fact that two of the most important (excluding the coastal towns) administrative and ecclesiastical centres in Croatia at that time, Zagreb and Knin, had churches devoted to St.

crkvenih poglavara bila jedna od glavnih točki, kraljevi iz Arpadove dinastije će se itekako upletati u izbor crkvenih prelata. Ponajbolje se to može pratiti na primjeru splitske crkve tijekom 12. i 13. stoljeća zahvaljujući vrijednim informacijama koje o tomu pruža Toma arciđakon. Iz njegovih se navoda jasno razabire da je ogromna većina nadbiskupa toga razdoblja birana uz izravni ili neizravni utjecaj kraljevskoga dvora, pa su čak mnogi od njih bili rodom iz Ugarske (Kovačić 1988, 13-4). Slobodno se, zapravo, može zaključiti da je kraljevski pritisak kod izbora nadbiskupa bio takav i tolik da su gradski kler i utjecajni građani vrlo brzo shvatili kako je najbolje već se pri izboru odlučiti za osobu s dobrim vezama na kraljevskome dvoru. Time su i grad kao cjelina, i građani kao pojedinci, otvarali put do kralja i stjecali njegovu milost, koja se onda očitovala i iskazivala u darežljivosti i preferencijalnom tretmanu (Ančić 2002). No, pravo lice kraljevske vlasti u ovoj domeni otkriva, čini se, na najbolji mogući način sve ono što se dogodilo sa zagrebačkim biskupom Augustinom Kažotićem u prvim desetljećima 14. stoljeća. Ovaj Trogiranin, podrijetlom iz poznatoga i uglednog gradskog patricijskog roda, stekao je za svoje doba zavidno obrazovanje na pariškome sveučilištu, a onda je počeo ostvarivati i zapaženu karijeru u vrhovima Katoličke crkve. Na mjesto zagrebačkoga biskupa došao je 1303. godine s položaja osobnoga kapelana pape Benedikta XI. s posebnom misijom. U to je doba, sjetimo se, mladi Karlo Roberto pokušavao ostvariti svoje pravo na krunu Ugarsko-Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, a papinska je podrška njegovu nastojanju išla tako daleko da je splitski nadbiskup, po papinskome nalogu, zaprijetio ekskomunikacijom onima koji to pravo ne priznaju. Promatran u tome svjetlu, izbor Augustina Kažotića za zagrebačkoga biskupa svakako nije bio slučajan. Radilo se o čovjeku koji je bio dovoljno blizak papi da bi ispunio njegova očekivanja, dok je istodobno podrijetlom bio upravo iz Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, pa se moglo pretpostaviti kako poznaje jezik, ljude i njihove običaje i naravi. K tomu, papa i novi biskup, prvi u to doba još uvijek kao kardinal i papinski legat a drugi kao njegov kapelan, i sami su prošli kroz Ugarsko-Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo i Zagreb 1301. godine. U Zagrebu su se i posebice zadržali, pa nema dvojbe o tomu jesu li dobro poznavali tamošnje prilike. Posebnost, pak, Augustinove biskupske misije dade se naslutiti iz činjenice da ga je papa još i prije odlaska posebnom bulom oslobodio dužnosti plaćanja svih papinskih tributa (Diplomatički zbornik VIII, 64), stvarajući na taj način i čvrstu materijalnu podlogu njegovu budućem djelovanju. Tijekom obnašanja svoje biskupske funkcije Augustin je, po svemu sudeći, ispunio sva papinska očekivanja. S jedne je strane, naime, uredio nutarnje stanje Zagrebačke biskupije na tri

Stephen the King. Unfortunately, today we know nothing about the circumstances in which the Zagreb cathedral was dedicated; we do not even know whether the older church that King Ladislas encountered here was already dedicated to the saintly king. The same problems arise with respect to the church of St. Stephen the King in Knin, which, it is true, did not become a cathedral, but it was the parish church of the town of Knin itself and the seat of the Croatian feudal court in the 14th century (Ančić, 1996, 68). The building of this church no longer exists, and the little remaining stone inventory from the former church, with parts of the dedication text, bears all the characteristics that date it to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century (Jakšić, 2000, 23-6). However, with this dating we are on no firmer ground with respect to the building of the church and its original dedication. This is to say that the building of the church, with respect to this general dating, can still be placed in the time of the reign of King Zvonimir. His marriage to the Hungarian princess, as well as the connections that he had created and developed there, could have been the reason why the churches in Knin, and even the one in Zagreb, were dedicated to the founder of the Hungarian Kingdom long before 1091. However, the ways in which the dynastic cult was reproduced and transmitted were far more diverse than the dedication in the most important town centres. One of them is revealed in a recently discovered lead reliquary box that stood in the altar column of the small church of Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian in Kaštel Gomilica near Split (Belamarić 2002). The church was built at the end of the seventh decade of the 12th century on an estate that belonged to the Benedictine nunnery of St. Benedict in Split. We know that Absalon, the archbishop of Split, who replaced the ailing Gaudije, dedicated it in 1160. Gaudije, although born in Split, was "always made to feel welcome by the kings of Hungary... and frequently visited their court". When he fell ill, he found sanctuary in the abbey of St. Benedict, and he was replaced by Absalon, who was, according to Archdeacon Toma, "a born Hungarian". Today it is impossible to say who of these two gave the relic to the church of St. Stephen the King. Did Gaudije receive it as a gift during his sojourns at the court as a reward for his loyalty, or did Absalon bring it with him when he came to Split so as to secure his initial position in the new milieu with a gesture of a gift of such great value? We can only say for sure that the nuns used the relic immediately and, along with the relics of the Virgin Mary and the saints to whom the church was dedicated (Cosmas and Damian), placed it in the altar column of the newly built church, according to existing rules. There can be

dijecezanska sinoda, reformirao bogoslužje, reorganizirao katedralnu školu u Zagrebu i materijalno konsolidirao crkvu. K tomu je ispunjavao i one zadaće koje su bile od posebne važnosti za papinstvo, kao što je zbrinjavanje templara pošto je Benedikt XI. ukinuo red (Šanjek 1988, 173-4; Klaić 1982, 333). Uza sve to, Augustin je, kako izgleda, učinio mnogo i na konsolidiranju pozicija i kasnije vlasti kralja Karla Roberta. Tako je, primjerice, od predijalaca svoje crkve tražio da kao vojnici sudjeluju u kraljevskim pohodima u vrijeme kada je kralj tek učvršćivao svoju vlast. Posebno je, pak, njegovo djelovanje po svemu sudeći bilo usmjereno na "omekšavanje" najmoćnijih slavonskih velikaša, Babonića. Iako je s njima imao velikih okapanja oko Medvedgrada, vjerojatno i njemu pripada dio zasluga što su Ivan, Stjepan i Radoslav nakon 1310. godine pristali uz Karla Roberta. Atmosferu međusobnoga povjerenja i vrlo čvrstih veza najmoćnijih ljudi Slavonije toga doba zrcali činjenica da su ga braća 1313./14. godine zamolila za pomoć i posredovanje u podjeli rodovskih posjeda. No, na kraju sve to biskupu nije bilo dovoljno da bi zadržao i pozicije na kraljevskome dvoru. Tu je, naime, posljednji put boravio početkom ljeta 1318. godine, kada je Karlo Roberto nizom isprava potvrdio stara prava zagrebačke crkve. Iste godine, međutim, Augustin je sudjelovao i u stvaranju posebne "lige" ugarskih biskupa, čiji je zadatak bio borba protiv svih presizanja na crkvene posjede (Diplomatički zbornik VIII, 516-518). Pada li taj skup, održan u Kaloči, prije ili poslije Augustinova boravka na dvoru, nije poznato, no čini se da je biskupov udio u tome poslu bio razlogom njegova nagloga pada u kraljevsku nemilost (Klaić 1982, 334). Ukoliko je to doista bio razlog padu u nemilost, valja istaknuti kako dokument o stvaranju "lige" ni jednom riječju ne spominje kralja, što bi zapravo i mogao biti razlog zbog kojega je Karlo Roberto biskupsku "ligu" doživio i protumačio kao svojevrsnu pobunu. Uglavnom, u jesen 1319. biskup Augustin je već bio u Avignonu, na kuriji pape Ivana XXII. Izvijestio je papu o svojim problemima, koji su po njegovoj verziji potjecali od tuda što je nepravedno bio ocrnjen pred kraljem (vjerojatno kao jedan od inspiratora "lige" i onaj koji je izravno sudjelovao u artikuliranju njezinih ciljeva, ne vodeći računa o kraljevskim interesima – Augustin je, uza sve ostalo, u ovoj stvari bio i izravno zainteresiran, jer su mu kao biskupu bila uskraćena prava na utvrde Medvedgrad i Garić). Papina intervencija kod Karla Roberta pismom iz listopada 1319. pokazala se jalovom, pa se Augustin Kažotić više nikad nije vratio u Zagreb, završivši život kao biskup grada Lucere u južnoj Italiji. Bez obzira na to što je stajalo iza njegova pada u kraljevsku nemilost, priča o blaženom biskupu Augustinu (blaženim je proglašen tek 1702. godine) jasno pokazuje u

no doubt that the ceremony of the consecration of the church, which included the placement of the reliquaries, was performed in front of a multitude of people, not only from surrounding villages, but also from the town of Split. In any case, enterprises like the building of the rural church of Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian are considered to be a way in which the town gained control over the surrounding area (Belamarić, 2002, 207), so that the presence of prominent townspeople at such an important ceremony can be taken for granted. All the gathered people also had to know which relics were placed in the column, since it was to these saints that prayers were said to ensure their interdiction in "the other world". Naturally, the meaning, as well as all the connotations and associations that such occasions held for contemporaries and their successors are lost to us in modern times and it is hardly possible for us to reconstruct them in any way. However, it is quite certain that one of the effects was the strengthening of the belief that God's Providence stands behind the rule of kings that come from a line that even provided saints. A second means of reproducing and disseminating the cult of saints from the "line of royal blood" is revealed from the oldest lists of valuables from the treasury of the Zagreb cathedral, from the very end of the 14th and the first quarter of the 15th century (Tkalčić, 1881). There, among other things, we can clearly see the special, luxurious vestments for mass and liturgical objects (chasuble with dalmatic, a pair of bishop's gloves, a benedictional – a book of blessings said by the bishop – Tkalčić, 1881, 120, 122, 123), which the bishops wore and used on the most special occasions when they led the services. At a time in which the importance of church liturgy greatly surpassed the meaning of the religious ceremony, and we can rightly speak about its "scenic impressiveness" (Stošić, 1994, 120), it is not difficult to imagine the effect created by these items, as well as the stories and legends surrounding them. In this context we should also view the famous preserved chasuble made from the "cape of St. Ladislas the King". It is probable that this chasuble had not been used in liturgy since ancient times, but it was surely displayed during holidays that were, in one way or another, linked with royal authority. On the other hand, the entry in the list of valuables in the treasury, which especially stresses a luxurious chasuble that were the gift of an "ancient queen" (Elisabeth, the mother of Louis the Great – Tkalčić, 1881, 122), clearly shows the high esteem in which items linked with rulers were held.

However, the mainstay that the House of Arpad found in the church with respect to their rule over Croatia was much broader than that offered by the possible manipulation of

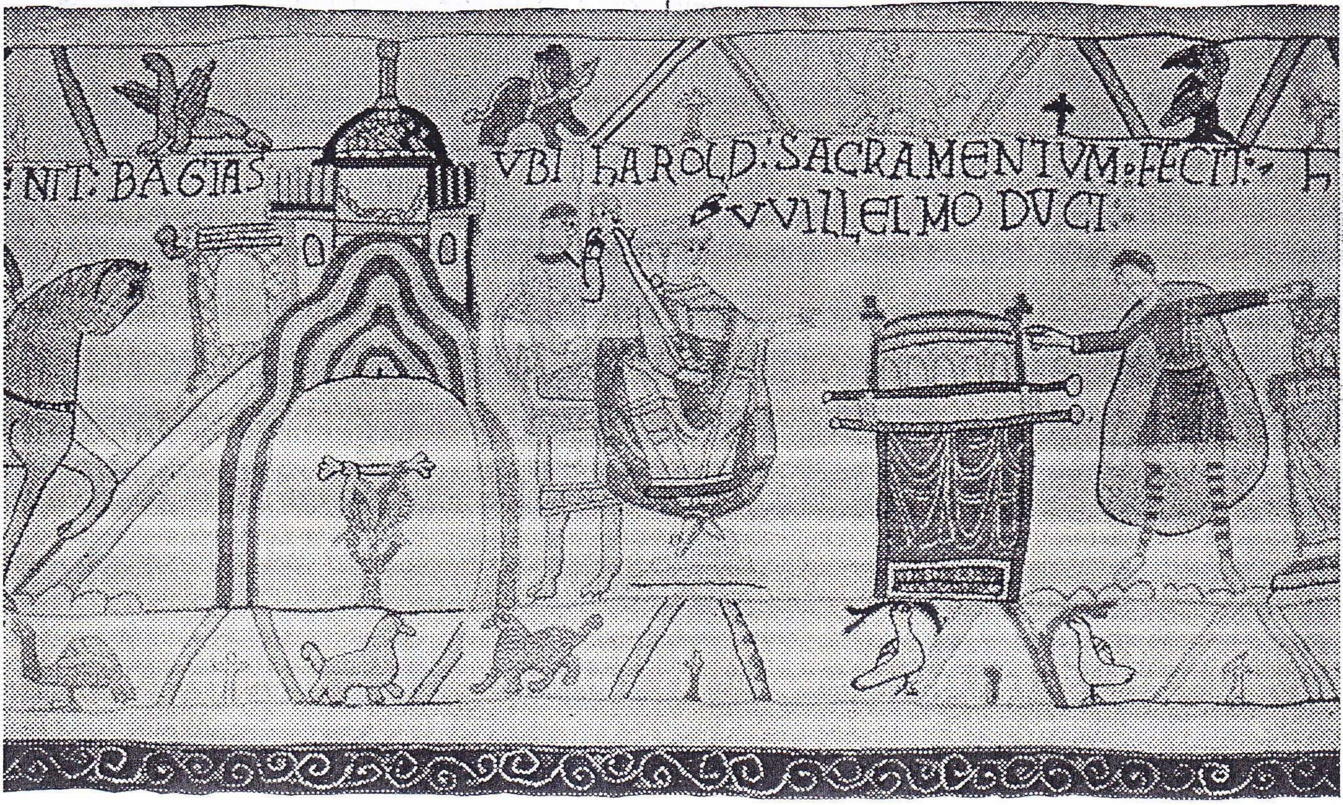
kojoj je mjeri bila tanka i oštro povučena crta koja je razdvajala kraljevsku “milost” od “nemilosti”, čak i kada se radilo o crkvenim prelatima. Svaki čin koji se mogao protumačiti kao ugrožavanje kraljevskoga autoriteta i vlasti povlačio je kao posljedicu “nemilost”, a od vještine, upornosti i volje okrivljenika ovisilo je na koji će se način ta “nemilost” materijalizirati.

Ako su već stvari tako stajale i s najvišim crkvenim poglavarima, ne bi trebalo čuditi što je čvrst oslonac ideji prava Arpadovića na Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo pružao i gotovo cijeli vladajući društveni sloj koji je još kralj Koloman zatekao u zemlji. Već je rečeno kako je tada kralj najutjecajnije rodove, njih dvanaest, pridobio posebnom povlasticom neplaćanja poreza. Ostali su od kralja mogli očekivati širok spektar nagrada: od povlastice slične onoj što su je dobili predstavnici 12 rodova (vremenom se to formaliziralo u priznavanje “plemstva” - *nobilitas* - odnosno ulaska u krug “prvih, pravih i prirodnih plemića”), preko dobivanja službi u upravnome i administrativnome aparatu, do stjecanja novih posjeda kroz zasluge u službi. Upravo služba kralju bila je ono što se očekivalo od svih onih koji su posjedovali zemlju, pa se, bar teorijski i u idealnoj slici, svaki pojedinčev postupak mjerio iz kuta vladareve koristi. Na najnižoj poziciji u društvenoj ljestvici, po jednom izričaju zabilježenom u 14. stoljeću (Ančić 1998, 246), upravo se kralju “služila župa”, prije svega obavljanjem vojničkih i redarstvenih dužnosti i zadataka. Najvjernijima je (odnosno onima koji su to bili u stanju tako prikazati) kao nagrada moglo pripasti mjesto kraljevskoga satnika ili podžupana, što se u sretnim okolnostima vremenom moglo pretvoriti i u nasljednu poziciju. Samo kao primjer, kojih doduše sačuvana vrela ne nude mnogo sve tamo do 14. stoljeća, valja ovdje navesti “kraljevskoga podžupana” (*podsup regalis*) Dobronju, sina također “kraljevskoga podžupana” Grgura, koji je svoju funkciju obnašao u “oblasti kneza Vukše i cijeloj Kliškoj županiji”. Njegovo se ime spominje u jednoj ispravi iz 1239. godine, sačuvanoj tek u prijepisu oca moderne historiografije u Hrvatskoj, Ivana Lucića (Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/XIV, fol. 80-1). Koliko je takvih bilo u svakoj županiji, a koliko pak onih koji su tek reflektirali na takav položaj, teško je danas čak i nagađati. Na takvoj, pak, poziciji zasluge su se za kralja već mnogo lakše stjecale, ili još preciznije rečeno, uočavale s najviših pozicija društvene ljestvice. Kao nagrada u takvim slučajevima slijedilo je ono što su 1225. godine od “mlađeg kralja” i tadašnjega hrvatskog hercega Bele (kasnijega kralja Bele IV.) dobili Chakan, sin Mergenov, i njegovi srodnici Tvrdislav, Tiba, Jakša, Molibog, Petar i Hudina (Diplomatički zbornik III, 247). Kao nagradu za svoje službe i vjernost oni su bili oslobođeni “od obvezne

ancient royal sacred objects or even the propagation of the dynastic cult of St. Stephen the King. In spite of the oaths given to towns by all future kings after Koloman, transferring them to the written word and giving them the form of royal privileges, where the freedom of choice of ecclesiastical prelates was one of the key stipulations, kings from the Arpad dynasty would become involved in the choice of prelates in a significant manner. This can best be traced through the example of the church in Split during the 12th and 13th century as a result of the valuable information that Archdeacon Toma provides in this matter. From his accounts we can clearly see that the great majority of archbishops of that time were chosen with the direct or indirect influence of the royal court, so that some of them were even of Hungarian birth (Kovačić, 1988, 13-4). In fact, we can even conclude that royal pressure in selecting archbishops was such that the town clergy and the influential townspeople soon realised that it was best to choose a person with good connections with the royal court at the very beginning. In this way the town as a whole, as well as townspeople as individuals, opened the way to the king and gained his favour, which was then reflected and expressed in his generosity and preferential treatment (Ančić, 2002). However, the true nature of royal power in this area is best revealed, it seems, by the events involving Augustin Kažotić, the bishop of Zagreb, in the first decades of the 14th century. He was born in Trogir, in a well-known and renowned patrician family, and gained what was at that time an enviable education at the Paris University, followed by a notable career in the highest ranks of the Catholic Church. He was appointed to the rank of bishop of Zagreb in 1303 from the post of personal chaplain to Pope Benedict XI with a special mission. Let us remember that it was at this time that young Charles Robert claimed his right to the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia, and papal support for his claim was so great that the archbishop of Split had threatened, on orders received from the pope, to excommunicate all those who did not acknowledge his right to the throne. Viewed in this light, the choice of Augustin Kažotić for bishop of Zagreb was no coincidence. Here was a man who was sufficiently close to the pope to carry out his expectations, while at the same time being a person who came from the Croatian Kingdom, so that it was to be expected that he knew the language, the people, their customs and their nature. Furthermore, the pope and the new bishop, the former at that time still in the capacity of a cardinal and a papal legate, and the latter as his chaplain, both travelled through the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia and passed through Zagreb in 1301. In fact, they not only passed through

službe križevačkoj utvrdi", pa su tako "oslobođeni veza niže službe" ubuduće trebali "uživati časno društvo kraljevskih službenika". Time su, po onodobnim shvaćanjima, bili "uvedeni u članstvo kraljevskoga doma", odnosno postali su "plemići kraljevstva". Njihovo je "plemstvo" u očima suvremenika, zaključuje moderni povjesničar, "u prvome redu proizlazilo iz izravnog odnosa prema vladaru i predanoga obavljanja vjerne službe koju su bili dužni kralju" (Rady 2000, 44). U kasnijim vremenima, kada od kraja 13. stoljeća kraljevska vlast s pojavom ideje izbornoga kraljevstva počne gubiti svoju izvornu ranosrednjovjekovnu auru, stvari će se i u ovom pogledu početi mijenjati. Čak će i pisani dokument koji je potvrđivao takvu promjenu društvenoga statusa, a koji je izdavala kraljevska kancelarija, dobiti snažnije izraženu notu medija za promicanje ideologije kraljevske vlasti. Detaljno (iako, vjerojatno, ne uvijek činjenično vjerno) prepričavanje stečenih zasluga u privilegijima koje je izdavala kraljevska kancelarija bilo je namijenjeno glasnom čitanju u krugu "društveno jednakih". Takvu sliku zrcali, primjerice, privilegij kralja Karla Roberta Ivanu i Jurju, sinovima Ivakinovim, podložnicima križevačke utvrde i "službenicima" bana Ivana Babonića od 10. siječnja 1319. (Diplomatički zbornik VIII, 520-1). O Ivanovim i Jurjevim "vjernim službama" kralja je

Zagreb, but stayed there for some time, so that there can be no doubt whether they were well acquainted with the circumstances there. However, the special nature of Augustin's mission as a bishop can be gleamed from the fact that even before he left the pope had issued a special bull in which he freed the bishop from the obligation to pay all papal tributes (Diplomatički zbornik VIII, 64), thus creating a firm financial base for his future activities. During his tenure as bishop, Augustin had, by all accounts, organised the Diocese of Zagreb into three diocesan synods, he reformed church services, reorganised the school of the body of canons in Zagreb and carried out the material consolidation of the church. Furthermore, he also carried out tasks that were of special importance to the papacy, like resettling the Templars after Benedict XI disbanded the order (Šanjek, 1988, 173-4; Klaić, 1982, 333). Along with all this, Augustin had, it seems, achieved a great deal in consolidating the position, and later on the authority of King Charles Robert. In this way, for example, from the landed bondmen *(praedialis)* of his church he demanded that they take part in the king's campaigns as soldiers at a time when the king was still consolidating his position. It seems that his activities were especially aimed at "softening" the most powerful magnates in Slavonia, the



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obavijestio sam ban, tvrdeći da je prvi svojedobno, u sukobu s "kraljevim nevjernicima", sinovima bana Henrika Gisingovca, "nosio stijeg" i bio "predvodnik vojske" te pri tomu zaradio teške rane i bio zarobljen. Njegov je, pak, brat u drugom sukobu s istim protivnicima stajao uza samoga bana i također bio ranjen. Sve su pak te "vjerne službe dostojne sjećanja", tvrdi se u privilegiju, braća učinila "za podizanje naše (kraljevske) časti", pa su stoga i zaslužili da se uvrste "u broj, red i zajednicu plemenitih (kraljevih) službenika". Naglasak je cijeloga teksta na opreci između onih koji su "kraljevi nevjernici" protiv kojih se vode ratovi i, na drugoj strani, onih koji kralju "vjerno služe", svojim zaslugama podižu njegovu "čast" i za to bivaju nagrađeni. Tekstovi poput ovoga zapravo su isticali i promicali poželjne obrasce ponašanja i vrijednosti na kojima su oni počivali. No, ti tekstovi otkrivaju, bez obzira radi li se o onima sažetijima iz ranijega razdoblja ili o kićenim, gotovo književnim sastavcima iz kasnijih vremena, još nešto vrlo važno. Naime, iz svega rečenoga jasno proizlazi da je pojedinčevo mjesto u društvu i status koji je odgovarao takvu mjestu bio definiran prije svega odnosom prema kralju. Kralj je bio taj koji je, bar u krajnjoj instanci, odlučivao hoće li pojedinac "služiti župu" i na taj način biti "vezan nižom službom", ili će ući, u prenesenom smislu, u "kraljevski dom" i time postati "plemić". Ukratko rečeno, svaka "slika" samoga sebe uključivala je i kralja, kao referentnu točku vlastite društvene pozicije.

Sve je to, u konačnici, vodilo stvaranju, ukorjenjivanju i izgradnji shvaćanja o nerazdruživu jedinstvu Ugarsko-Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva. "Slika" toga jedinstva uključivala je i svijest o različitosti pojedinih "kraljevina" koje su, poput pojedinačnoga kamenja koje tvori jedinstveni zid, imale svoje zasebne običaje i zakone, organizaciju i administraciju, ali su istodobno bile područje vladavine jednoga "roda kraljevske krvi" i prema vanjskome svijetu izgledale kao jedinstveni organizam. Snaga toga shvaćanja nerazdruživosti bila je takva da, čak i onda kada nisu bili zadovoljni aktualnim vladarom, hrvatski velikaši nisu razmišljali, pa čak ni mogli razmišljati, izvan okvira Ugarsko-Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva. Stoga su u takvim situacijama njihove ambicije bile usmjerene tek prema promjeni osobe koja nosi kraljevsku titulu. No, i takva je pozicija postala mogućom tek s izumiranjem "roda kraljevske krvi" koji je vlast nad Hrvatskim Kraljevstvom stekao Kolomanovim djelovanjem. To se, pak, dogodilo na samome izmaku 13. stoljeća, u vrijeme kada u cijelom Ugarsko-Hrvatskom Kraljevstvu na snazi dobiva ideja da upravo "prvi, pravi i istinski plemići" jesu zasebno "političko tijelo", rječnikom toga doba *communitas* ili *universitas* (Szücs 1975, 27 i d.). Upravo tako shvaćena "zajednica" nestankom "svetoga"

Babonić family. Although he had great problems with them with respect to the castle at Medvedgrad, it is probably partly due to him that Ivan, Stjepan and Radoslav sided with Charles Robert after 1310. The atmosphere of mutual trust and very close links between the most powerful men in Slavonia of that time is reflected in the fact that the brothers asked him for assistance and mediation in the division of family estates in 1313 and 1314. However, all this was not sufficient for the bishop to retain his position at the royal court. He visited the court for the last time at the beginning of the summer of 1318, when Charles Robert confirmed the old freedoms of the church in Zagreb with a series of decrees. However, that same year Augustin also took part in the formation of a special "league" of Hungarian bishops, whose aim was to fight against all encroachments against church estates (Diplomatički zbornik VIII, 516-518). We do not know whether this assembly came before or after Augustin's stay at the court, but it seems that the bishop's participation in this enterprise was the reason why he suddenly fell out of favour with the king (Klaić, 1982, 334). If this was indeed the reason of his falling out of the king's favour, we should mention that the document concerning the formation of the "league" makes absolutely no mention of the king, and this might, in fact, be the reason why Charles Robert interpreted the "league" as rebellion of sorts. Be that as it may, in the autumn of 1319, Augustin was already in Avignon, at the curia of Pope John XXII. He informed the pope about his problems, which had, according to him, derived from the fact that he was unjustly maligned in front of the king (probably as one of the inspirers of the "league", and as a person who took direct part in the articulation of its aims, without taking into account royal interests -Augustin also had a direct interest in the matter because he, as the bishop of Zagreb, was denied the right to the forts of Medvedgrad and Garić). The papal intervention, in the form of a letter to Charles Robert in October 1319, proved futile, so that Augustin Kažotić was never to return to Zagreb, living his last days as bishop of the town of Lucere in southern Italy. Regardless of what lay behind his fall from royal favour, the story of blessed Bishop Augustin (he was beatified as late as in 1702) clearly shows the thin yet firm line that separated royal "favour" from "displeasure", even in the case of prelates of the church. Every act that could have been interpreted as a threat to royal authority and power had as its consequence the "fall from grace", while the way in which this "fall from grace" was materialised depended on the skill, determination and the will of the accused.

kraljevskog roda gubi svoje organsko, “prirodno”, vodstvo, pa u svezi s time počinje isticati ravnopravnost u odnosu prema budućemu vladaru. Sve se to jasno pokazuje nakon 1290. godine, kada ugarsko plemstvo pripisuje sebi pravo odlučivati o tomu tko će, nakon nestanka muške loze dotad vladajuće dinastije, steći pravo na kraljevsku krunu i prijestol. Okupljeni plemići s indignacijom 1290. a potom i 1308. godine odbijaju ideju po kojoj u takvoj situaciji papa, kao vrhovni duhovni autoritet kršćanskog svijeta, ima pravo odlučiti čiji je zahtjev za krunom utemeljen i pravedan. No, hrvatsko plemstvo, iz razloga o kojima će još biti riječi, ne dijeli mišljenje s ugarskim, pa ban Pavao Šubić Bribirski u njegovo ime početkom 14. stoljeća artikulira potpuno oprečan stav. Pavao, koji je u tome trenutku pravi “gospodar” (*dominus*) u Hrvatskoj južno od Gvozda i gornjeg toke Une, Bosanskoj banovini i Humskome kneštvu, u pismu papi Bonifaciju VIII. izrijekom tvrdi kako “nitko drugi do onaj kojega ustoliči Rimski papa, ne može biti zakoniti kralj ovih kraljevstava (Dalmacije i Hrvatske te Ugarske)” (Karbić 1999, 230-1). Argumentacija kojom se ban u pismu služi uvijena je u povijesne argumente – Dalmacija i Hrvatska su papinsko leno od vremena kralja Zvonimira, a Ugarska je to od vremena svetoga kralja Stjepana, koji je također dobio krunu iz Rima. Riječ je dakle o dva odvojena Kraljevstva, s različitim tradicijama, ali ona i u banovim predodžbama tvore “sliku” cjeline nad kojom vlada jedan kralj. No, prvi dojam o razlikama u odnosu prema shvaćanjima kakva vladaju u Ugarskoj ne bi trebao zavarati. Valja, naime, upozoriti da u stvarnosti Pavao već cijelo desetljeće prije toga priznaje, iz svojih vrlo racionalnih razloga, prava napuljskih pretendenata, koje inače podupire i papa, pa su argumenti samo način da se političkoj realnosti priskrbi ideološko utemeljenje. S druge strane, društvena realnost i u Hrvatskoj vodi do snaženja svijesti o pripadanju “zajednici plemstva”. Ta zajednica, međutim, nije smještena u prostorne okvire cijeloga Ugarsko-Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva. Njezin fizički okvir nije više ni cjelina Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva, već ono što se, kroz stjecaj povijesnih okolnosti i razvoj, uobličilo u posebno “vladanje” ili “kraljevinu” (*regnum*) prvotno “Dalmacije i Hrvatske”, a od kraja 14. stoljeća samo “Hrvatske”.

Kralj tuđeg jezika

Društvena gibanja o kojima je upravo bilo riječi, ali i stvarnost vladavine nove dinastije tijekom gotovo cijeloga 14. stoljeća, utjecala su, dakako, i na promjene u “slici” kralja kako je zrcale sačuvana vrela. No, što se čini još važnijim, iz

If that was the situation with the highest representatives of the church, it should be no wonder that almost the entire ruling class that King Koloman encountered in the country provided a strong base for the idea of the right of the claim of the House of Arpad to the Croatian Kingdom. As we have already noted, the king had at that time secured the support of the most influential clans, twelve of them, with a special privilege that exempted them from paying taxes. The others could have expected a wide range of rewards from the monarch: from the privilege similar to that enjoyed by the representatives of the 12 clans (over time this took on the form of acknowledging the status of “nobility” – *nobilitas* – the acceptance into the circle of “the first, true and natural nobles”), of the offer of service in the governing and administrative apparatus, of acquiring new estates through meritorious service. It was precisely service to the king that was expected from all those that owned land, so that, at least theoretically and in an ideal situation, the actions of each individual were gauged by the benefit it provided for the monarch. At the bottom of the social ladder, according to a note recorded in the 14th century (Ančić, 1998, 246), was service rendered to the king “by the parish”, first and foremost by performing military and policing tasks and duties. The most faithful (namely those who were in a position to make such a claim) would have been rewarded by appointment to the post of the king’s captain or district sub-prefect, and this post could over time, and in favourable circumstances, be transformed into a hereditary position. As an example, although it must be said that there are not many of them in preserved sources dating from before the 14th century, we should mention the “king’s sub-prefect” *(podsup regalis)* Dobronja, the son of the “king’s sub-prefect” Grgur, who performed his service in the “territory of Prince Vukša and in the entire county of Klis”. His name is mentioned in a document from 1239, which has been preserved only in a copy made by the father of modern historiography in Croatia, Iván Lucić (Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS XX-12/XIV, fol. 80-1). Today it would be difficult to guess how many of these were in each county, and how many others had ambitions of securing this position. On the other hand, once in this position, it was much easier to provide meritorious service to the king or, to be more precise, those on top of the social ladder could then register these services. As a reward in these cases we can note what the “younger king” and Croatian Duke Bela (later crowned as King Bela IV) gave Chakan, son of Mergen, and his relatives Tvrdislav, Tiba, Jakša, Molibog, Petar and Hudina in 1225 (Diplomatički zbornik III, 247). As a reward for their service and loyalty they were freed “from the obligation of ser-

ovoga vremena potječu i prva vrela koja pokazuju postojanje dviju različitih “slika”, ili bar dvije različite dimenzije jedne “slike”. S jedne strane, naime, kraljevski dvor sa svojom kancelarijom, vrhovi crkve, pa i dobar dio plemstva, osobito onaj koji je uspio naći zajednički jezik s novim vladarom, pokušavaju reproducirati i dalje prenositi gotovo nepromijenjenu sliku o “rodu kraljevske krvi”. Službeni dokumenti koje izdaje kraljevska kancelarija vrve pozivima na tradicije, običaje i uredbe kraljeva Arpadove loze. Njih anžuvinski kraljevi Karlo Roberto i Ludovik Veliki označavaju kao svoje pretke i formalne praroditelje, nastojeći na taj način stvoriti iluziju o kontinuitetu “svete dinastije”. Iz doista velikog broja primjera koji ilustriraju takva nastojanja izabrat ću ovdje dva, vremenski vrlo bliska. Prvi se odnosi na vrijeme održavanja “općega shoda” “kraljevine” Dalmacije i Hrvatske u travnju 1371. godine. Na tome “shodu”, koji bi možda mogao na prvi pogled svojim sjajem i masovnošću podsjetiti i na onaj Kolomanov iz 1105. godine, okupljena je međutim sada, po izričaju kraljevske isprave, “zajednica plemića i s njima građani” te “kraljevine”. U nazočnosti okupljenih kralj rješava prijepore “na zajedničko dobro naše i svih stanovnika kraljevine”, a među ostalima i tužbu Stjepana i Dubravca, sinova Jurjevih, iz Zminja u splitskome zaleđu. Njima je, naime, ban Šimun Konja, u doba kada je obnašao tu čast, oduzeo rodovski posjed u Zminju, priključivši ga fondu kraljevskih posjeda. Sada, pak, Stjepan i Dubravac iznose pred kralja i njegove podanike dva privilegija koji posvjedočuju da je riječ o njihovu nasljednom posjedu, dobivenome od kralja. Stariji je od tih privilegija onaj koji je svojedobno izdao kralj Stjepan V. (vlada 1270.-1272.), sin kralja Bele IV. I tu kralj ne oklijeva – i Stjepan V. i Bela IV. njegovi su “praroditelji sretne uspomene”. Pošto je kralj pregledao taj privilegij, kao i onaj koji je sam svojedobno izdao potvrđujući privilegij kralja Stjepana, i pošto je s okupljenima pretresao starinu plemstva Stjepana i Dubravca, kraljevska kancelarija na licu mjesta izdaje novi privilegij. Njime se aktualnome banu i svim ostalim kraljevskim dužnosnicima stavlja u zadatak vratiti posjed braći i spriječiti svako dalje uznemiravanje (Diplomatički zbornik XIV, 321-2). I rasprava na “shodu”, na kojoj se zacijelo ponovilo mnogo sličnih slučajeva u kojima se kraljeve stare dinastije nazivalo praroditeljima, ali i tekst privilegija koji će se u desetljećima što dolaze bezbroj puta glasno čitati, trebaju uvjeriti vrlo ciljanu publiku o tomu da se od pradavnih vremena ništa nije promijenilo – “kraljevinom” i dalje vlada isti “rod kraljevske krvi”, kojemu ta uloga pripada i po Božanskom i po ljudskome pravu.

Potpuno istu idejnu pozadinu ocrtava i drugi privilegij što ga je 11. studenoga u kraljevo ime izdala njegova kance-

vice in the fortification in Križevci”, and were thus “released from lower military service” and were able to “enjoy the honourable company of royal officials”. In this way they were, according to the understanding at that time, “brought into the membership of the royal household”, in other words they became “noblemen of the realm”. Modern historians can conclude that their “nobility” in the eyes of contemporaries “primarily derived from the direct relationship to the monarch and from the dedicated and loyal service performed, service that they owed to the king” (Rady, 2000, 44). In later times things would change, when from the end of the 13th century royal power began to lose its original early mediaeval aura with the onset of the idea of elected monarchy. Even a written document issued by the royal chancery that confirmed such a change of social status take on an even more pronounced tone of a medium for promoting the ideology of the king’s power. A detailed (albeit probably not factually faithful) listing of earned merits in privileges that was issued by the royal chancery was issued with the intention of being read aloud in the company of “social equals”. Such an image is, for example, reflected in the privilege issued by King Charles Robert to Ivan and Juraj, the sons of Ivakin, of the fortress in Križevci and “officials” of *Ban* Ivan Babonić from January 10th 1319 (Diplomatički zbornik VIII, 520-1). The *ban* himself informed the king in connection with Ivan’s and Juraj’s “faithful service”, claiming that the former had, in a conflict with “those disloyal to the king”, “carried the banner” and served as “the leader of the troops” for the sons of *Ban* Henrik Gisingovac, and that he was badly wounded and taken prisoner. On the other hand, his brother had, in another conflict with the same enemy, stood next to the *ban* himself and was also wounded. All these “faithful services that deserve to be remembered”, as it is claimed in the privilege, were performed by the brothers “for promoting our (royal) honour”, so that they deserve to be included “in the number, order and community of noble (royal) officials”. The stress of the whole test is on the contrast between “those disloyal to the king”, against whom wars are fought, and, on the other hand, those who “loyally serve” the king, whose services promote his “honour” and are therefore rewarded. Texts like this one in fact stressed and promoted the preferred forms of behaviour and values on which they rested. However, regardless of the fact whether we are dealing with condensed texts from the earlier period or the ornate, almost literary compositions from later times, these documents reveal another important aspect. Specifically, from all that has been said above it is clear that the individual’s position in society and the status that corresponds to this position

larija u prijestolnom Višegradu. Tim privilegijem kralj daje zagrebačkome kaptolu pravo izraditi novi pečat pošto je stari krivotvoren i stoga uništen. Kaptolski pečat nije, međutim, tek privatna stvar zagrebačkih kanonika. Otisak toga pečata daje snagu pravovaljanoga dokumenta svakom komadu pergamene ili papira na kojemu se nađe, štogod na njemu pisalo. On ima snagu "javne vjere" i koristi se za ovjere prijepisa već postojećih dokumenata, ovjere različitih izvješća što ih kanonici, u nedostatku stvarnoga birokratskoga aparata, podnose nakon obavljanja zadaća važnih u javnim i privatnim poslovima, služi kao dokaz pravovaljanoga poziva na sudove itd. itd. (Kostrenčić 1930). Pečat je zagrebačkoga kaptola vrlo često u uporabi, a pravne poslove koji podrazumijevaju njegovu uporabu dolaze u Zagreb obaviti stanovnici vrlo udaljenih krajeva. Tu se na početku 15. stoljeća, osim ljudi iz svih krajeva tadašnje Zagrebačke biskupije, može sresti šaroliko društvo, od plemića iz Pseta (kraj oko današnjega Bosanskog Petrovca), preko ličkih Mogorovića, do ravnokotarskih Šubića, koji održavaju čvrste veze sa svojim dalekim srodnicima doseljenima u Zrin i Pounje (*MOL*, Dl 9078; 87843; Bojničić 1899, 86). Izdavanje dozvole za izradu tako važnoga predmeta kakav je pečat zagrebačkoga kaptola prilika je stoga za cijeli jedan mali ideološki traktat. U njemu se Sv. Stjepan kralj, "prvi kralj Ugra", označuje kao Ludovikov "gospodar, prethodnik i praroditelj" koji se ističe kao "ruža rubinove boje među lijerima", a sve svoje uspjehe i pobjede Ludovik je ostvario "pod njegovim imenom". Sve je to razlog zašto će na pečatu biti predstavljen upravo lik svetoga kralja kako klečeći Djevici Mariji, koja u krilu drži Gospodina, predaje "sliku materijalnoga zdanja (zagrebačkoga) hrama". I ta slika, na pečatnjaku koji je sačuvan sve do danas, vjerno zrcali ideju kontinuiteta od "prvoga kralja" do onoga tko donosi odluku i u čije se ime izdaje privilegij. Lik, naime, katedrale što ga u rukama drži sveti kralj ima simbolično značenje, pa jasno pokazuje i ističe onaj njezin dio, dvazvonika na pročelju, koji se počeo graditi upravo po nalogu i sredstvima samoga kralja Ludovika (Stošić 1994, 116).

Sve, međutim, dosad rečeno treba promatrati kao dio službene "slike", one koju kralj i krug oko njega žele otisnuti u svijesti svojih suvremenika, onako kako se pečatnjak otiskuje u vosku. No, svijest njihovih suvremenika nije više ista ona kakva je vladala u 12. i 13. stoljeću. U toj svijesti su se, kako izgleda, već vrlo rano spojile ideje o "zajednici plemstva" s tradicijom zasebnih "kraljevina", ali i s iskonskom potrebom ljudi da svoje predodžbe o svijetu organiziraju podjelom na "nas" i "one druge". Na taj je način stvoren jedan novi okvir političkoga djelovanja, koji je određivao spoj was primarily defined by the relationship towards the king. The king was the one who, in the final instance, decided whether an individual would "serve the parish" and so be "tied to lower office", or whether he would enter, so to speak, "the royal household" and thus become "a noble". In short, every "image" that a person had with respect to himself included the king as the reference point of his own social position.

All this eventually led to the creation, entrenchment and development of the notion concerning the indivisible unity of the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia. The "image" of that unity also included the awareness of the differences of the individual "kingdoms", which had, in the same way that individual rocks form a single wall, their own particular customs and laws, their own organisation and administration, but they at the same time both formed a region ruled by one "line of royal blood" and appeared to the outside world as a unique, indivisible organism. The power of this notion of indivisibility was such that even when they were not satisfied with the present ruler, Croatian magnates did not think, nor could they even attempt to think, outside the framework of the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia. It is for this reason that their ambitions in these situations were aimed only at the change of the person carrying the royal title. But even such a position was possible only with the extinction of the "line of royal blood" that gained power over the Croatian Kingdom through Koloman's actions. And this is, in fact, what happened at the end of the 13th century when in the entire Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia there was a strengthening of the idea that "the first, true and natural nobles" formed a separate "political body" or, in the language of the time, a *communitas* or *universitas* (Szücs, 1975, 27 and pf). Understood in this way, with the loss of the "holy" royal line, the "community" is left without its organic, "natural", leadership, so that it begins to stress its equality with respect to the future ruler. This is very clear after 1290, when the Hungarian nobles gave themselves the right to decide who would be given the right to claim the crown and the throne after the male line of the ruling dynasty became extinct. The gathered nobles refused with indignation in 1290 and again in 1308 the notion that in this situation the pope, as the supreme spiritual authority of the Christian world, had the right to decide whose claim to the crown was founded and just. However, the Croatian nobles, for reasons which we will come to later, did not share the view of their Hungarian counterparts, so that *Ban* Pavao Šubić Bribirski at the beginning of the 14th century articulated a completely contrary opinion in their name. Pavao, who was at that time the real

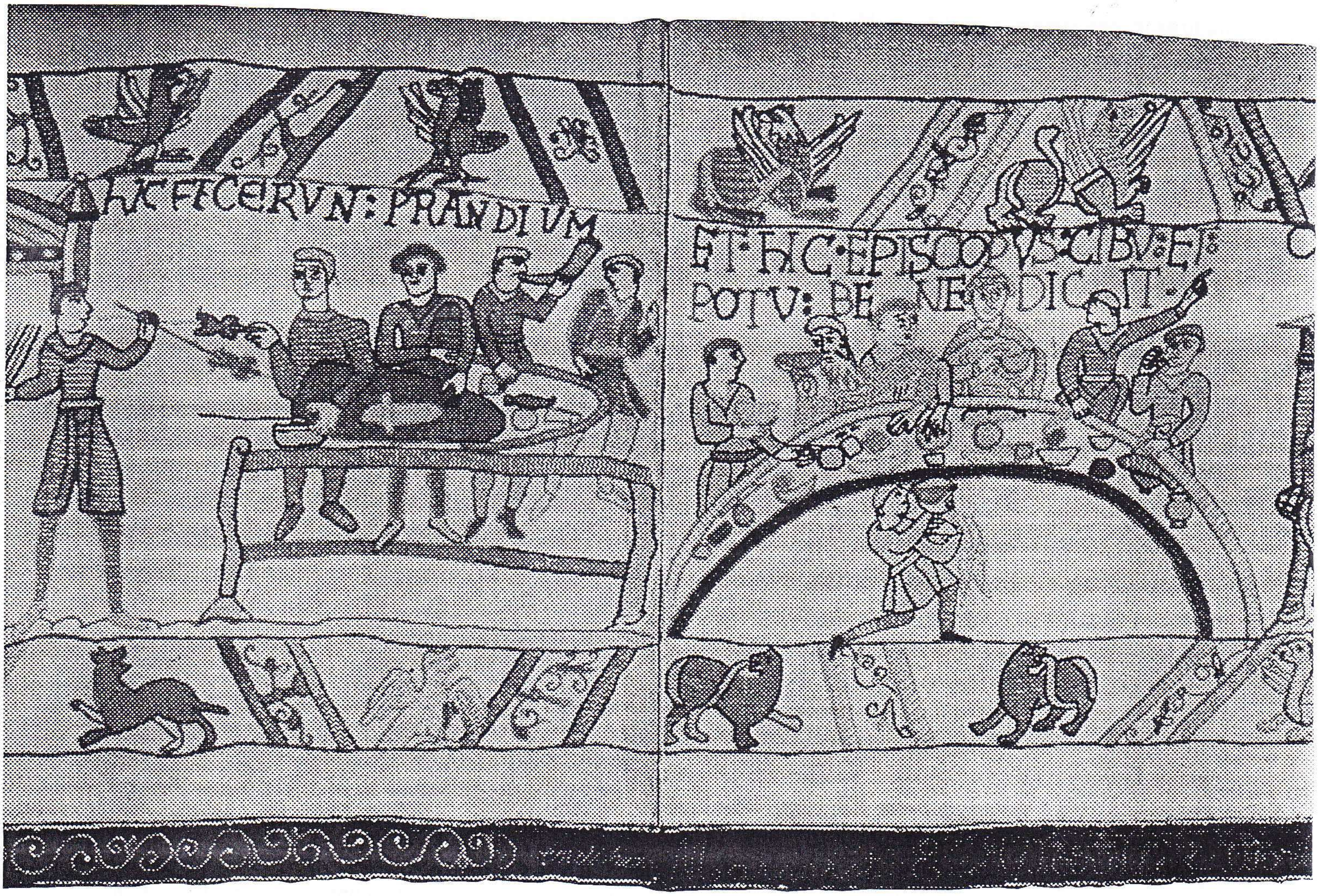
tradicionalnih vrijednosti i predodžbi i onoga što je nastalo kao tečevina aktualnih društvenih gibanja. Vrijeme je to kada se rađa ono što je već ranije naznačeno kao "srednjovjekovni nacionalizam". S tim kompleksom ideja, koji se tek polako uobličuje u cjelovitu "sliku", prvi put smo se sreli u vrijeme velike društvene krize na prijelomu 13. i 14. stoljeća, u onom trenutku kada su vrela prvi put zabilježila da se dotadašnji "primorski ban" Pavao Šubić Bribirski počeo koristiti novom titulom – onom "gospodara Hrvata". Ubrzo će kombinaciju dvostruke titule, jedne kraljevskoga dužnosnika ("primorski ban") i druge kojoj korijen ostaje nejasan ("gospodar Hrvata"), zamijeniti nova, jednostavnija titula "bana Hrvata". Kako je do toga došlo, koje su ideje stajale iza pojave nove, odnosno prepravljanja stare titule, danas je vrlo teško razaznati. Sačuvana vrela ne daju mogućnost iole sigurnijega objašnjenja, već samo omogućuju registriranje promjena. Ono, međutim, što je iz toga jasno i što se nedvojbeno može iščitati kao nova pojava, jest želja ali i spremnost i sposobnost da se manipuliranjem različitim dimenzijama društvenosti, pa i sviješću o etničkoj pripadnosti, mobiliziraju pristaše, ojača lojalnost i konačno postignu politički probitci. Kako smo već ranije vidjeli, Pavao u tome smislu još nije išao izvan odavno uspostavljenih i ustaljenih okvira. On nije dovodio u pitanje pravo jednoga kralja da vlada dvama kraljevstvima, ali je u cilju stvaranja što većega "gospodstva" i što čvršće kontrole nad njim bio spreman pokušati mobilizirati svoje pristaše unutar vladajućega sloja na nov način. Dio te nove strategije mobilizacije uključivao je i poziv na povijest, podrazumijevajući i njezinu reinterpretaciju. O takvim nakanama vrlo jasno govori činjenica da se upravo u ovo vrijeme, vrijeme kada ban Pavao stvara svoju novu titulu, na najmanje dva mjesta može uočiti dotad neuobičajen postupak s kamenim ostacima ranosrednjovjekovnih sakralnih objekata. Riječ je o ostacima sakralnih objekata iz 9. stoljeća koji su sadržavali natpise u kojima se spominje knez Branimir, a koji su sada bili ugrađeni u obnovljene, odnosno novopodignute sakralne objekte (Jakšić 2000, 80-85).

K tomu, danas se već gotovo sigurno može ustvrditi da se za vrijeme vladavine bana Pavla u njegovu novom "gospodstvu" staroj "slici" kralja počinju dodavati novi elementi, ocrtani u liku kralja Zvonimira. Što se zapravo s likom Zvonimira dogodilo na prijelomu 13. i 14. stoljeća, u kojoj i kakvoj se formi širila legenda o njemu, i kolikoga su utjecaja u svemu tomu imali sam ban i njegov dvor? U potrazi za počecima legende valja svakako upozoriti na to da njezin prvi odjek dolazi iz djela Tome arciđakona. Tu se, naime, prvi put pojavljuje ideja po kojoj je upravo Zvonimir "posljednji hrvatski kralj" s kojim izumire "rod kraljevske krvi" (Rački

"master" (dominus) in Croatia south of Gvozd and the upper flow of the river Una, in the *Banovina* of Bosnia and the Dukedom of Hum, expressly stated in a letter written to Pope Boniface VIII that "no one other than the one installed by the pope of Rome cannot be the true king of these kingdoms (Dalmatia and Croatia, plus Hungary)" (Karbić, 1999, 230-1). The arguments the *ban* uses in his letter are seeped in historical arguments – Dalmatia and Croatia being a papal fief from the time of King Zvonimir, while Hungary became a papal fief in the time of the sainted King Stephen, who also received his crown from Rome. These are, therefore, two separate kingdoms, with different traditions, but even so, in the *ban's* perception they form an "image" of a whole ruled by one king. However, the first impression about differences with respect to the prevailing understanding in Hungary should not be doubted. Specifically, we should draw attention to the fact that Pavao had during the whole of the previous decade acknowledged, for his own and very rational reasons, the claims of the Neapolitan pretenders, who were also supported by the pope, so that the arguments are only a way of providing an ideological foundation for the political reality. On the other hand, the social reality in Croatia also led to the strengthening of the awareness of belonging to a "community of nobility". However, this community was not placed in the spatial framework of the whole Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia. Its physical framework is no longer even the entirety of the Croatian Kingdom, but rather the one that, as a result of historical circumstances and development, took the shape of a separate "rule" or "kingdom" *(regnum),* firstly of "Dalmatia and Croatia", and from the end of the 14th century only of "Croatia".

The King Who Spoke a Foreign Language

The social developments discussed above, as well as the reality of the rule of a new dynasty during almost the whole of the 14th century, had their impact, naturally, on changes to the "image" of the king as reflected in contemporary sources. However, it seems even more significant that it is from this time that we have the first sources that show the existence of two different "images", or at least two different dimensions of one "image". On the one hand, the royal court with its chancery, the leadership of the church, and even a significant part of the nobility, especially the one that managed to find an accommodation with the new ruler, tried to reproduce and further transmit the practically unchanged image about the "line of royal blood". Official documents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1894, 56-7). Zamisao o “posljednjem kralju” nije nužno ugrađena u poziv bana Pavla na Zvonimirove postupke, kada on pojašnjava zašto upravo papa ima pravo odrediti tko će ubuduće vladati Ugarsko-Hrvatskim Kraljevstvom. Doduše, Pavlova nam se argumentacija nije sačuvala u cjelini, već samo u skraćenom obliku koji prenosi povjesničar 18. stoljeća, Baltazar Krčelić. Iz te se skraćene verzije jasno može razaznati samo to da je “ban Hrvata” raspolagao nekim informacijama iz realnoga prostora i vremena. Uzimajući u obzir njegove čvrste veze s Rimom i papinstvom (Karbić 1999, 230-3), nije teško naslutiti da mu je bila poznata Zvonimirova zavjernica iz 1076. godine, koja se ionako čuvala u Rimu (Diplomatički zbornik I, 139). Na nju se uostalom i sama papinska kurija poziva još u 12. stoljeću, dajući preporuke za rješenje spora između templara i skradinskoga biskupa oko vranskog samostana Sv. Grgura (Diplomatički zbornik II, 125-6). Čini se, međutim, da je ban Zvonimirovim imenom manipulirao i na druge načine. Tako, primjerice, postoje snažne indicije da je u novopodignutome franjevačkom samostanu u središtu svoje rodovske zajednice, u Bribiru, postavio ploču s natpisom u kojem se govorilo o kralju Zvonimiru (Karbić 2000, 275-6). Važnim se također čini upozoriti na jedan niz činjenica, na prvi pogled ne pretjerano povezanih, koje, zajedno s onim što je već rečeno, upućuju na mogućnost da je Zvonimirova legenda bila zaokružena već početkom 14. stoljeća i da se njome služilo upravo na dvoru Šubića. Taj se niz činjenica odnosi na jednu malo poznatu epizodu iz povijesti kuće Šubića, naime na brak Katarine, kćerke bana Mladena II. i unuke bana Pavla, s poljskim vojvodom Boleslavom III. od Wroclava, sklopljen sredinom 20-ih godina 14. stoljeća (Wertner 1901). O okolnostima u kojima je Katarina otišla u Wroclav, o tomu tko ju je tamo otpratio i o eventualnim vezama s postojbinom, ne zna se ništa. No, ipak je ostalo zabilježeno da je bila “rođena u Hrvatskoj, a dovedena (u Wroclav) iz Ugarske”. U svezu s tim njezinim boravkom čini se da bi trebalo dovesti postanak bar dijela jednoga inače zagonetnog i neobičnog djela, poznatog pod imenom *Ugarsko-poljska kronika*. Ono što u tome djelu privlači posebnu pozornost upravo iz konteksta o kojom je ovdje riječ jest njegovo 3. poglavlje (Szentpétery 1938, 302-5). Tu se, naime, pod naslovom “O pobjedi kralja Atile” pojavljuju izmiješani i temeljito prerađeni elementi tekstualne predaje sačuvane u djelu poznatom kao *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, odnosno u hrvatskom prijevodu i preradbi toga djela, koje Marko Marulić naziva *Ljetopis kraljeva Hrvatske i Dalmacije* (Ančić 1997a). Posebice je, pak, važno što se u *Ugarsko-poljskoj kronici* pojavljuje i priča o tomu kako su Hrvati ubili svoga kralja, Božjeg izabranika, koje nema u

issued by the royal chancery abound in appeals to tradition, customs and decrees by kings from the House of Arpad. The Anjou kings Charles Robert and Louis the Great refer to them as their forerunners and formal ancestors, attempting to create the illusion of a continuity of the “holy dynasty”. Out of a really large number of examples that illustrate these efforts I shall chose two that are very close in time. The first concerns the time of the “general assembly” *(shod)* of the “kingdom” of Dalmatia and Croatia in April 1371. According to a royal document, at that “shod”, which might with respect to its grandeur and massive attendance be a reminiscence of Koloman’s from 1105, the “community of nobles together with citizens” of that “kingdom” were gathered. In the presence of the gathered, the king solved disputes “in the name of our common good, and in the name of the common good of all the inhabitants of the kingdom”, including the suit put forward by Stjepan and Dubravac, the sons of Juraj, from Zminj near Split. *Ban* Šimun Konja had taken away their family estate in Zminj, incorporating it into the king’s estates. At this point Stjepan and Dubravac presented the king and his subjects with two deeds of privilege that certified that the land was their hereditary estate received from the king. The older deed was issued by King Stephen V (who reigned from 1270 to 1272), the son of King Bela IV. In this case the king did not hesitate – both Stephen V and Bela IV were his “forefathers whom he held in dear memory”. After the king inspected the deed, as well as the one that he himself issued to confirm the privilege issued by King Stephen, and after he had discussed the history of the noble status of Stjepan and Dubravac, the royal chancery immediately issued a new deed. The deed charged the present *ban* and all the other king’s officials to return the land to the two brothers and so prevent any further harassment (Diplomatički zbornik XIV, 321-2). Furthermore, both the discussion at the “shod”, where there were probably many similar cases in which the kings of the old dynasty were referred to as the king’s forefathers, as well as the text of the privileges that would be read aloud countless times in the decades that followed, were aimed at persuading the targeted audience that nothing had changed since ancient times – that the “kingdom” is still ruled by the same “line of royal blood”, which is entitled to that role both by the laws of God and the laws of man.

Exactly the same ideological background is also reflected in the other privilege that the royal chancery issued in the king’s name on November 11 in Visegrád. Through this privilege the king allowed the Zagreb body of canons to make a new seal since the old one was forged and therefore destroyed.

izvornom tekstu *Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina*, već samo u hrvatskoj preradbi i prijevodu. S druge strane, međutim, način na koji se u *Ugarsko-poljskoj kronici* prenose dijelovi *Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina* daje naslutiti da je autor imao pred sobom latinski izvornik, a ne hrvatski prijevod. Iz svega, pak, ostaje kao vrlo vjerojatno zaključiti dvije stvari. Prvo, s Katarinom je u Wroclav, kao dio njezine popudbine, došao i jedan rukopis, koji nažalost nije sačuvan do naših dana. Drugo, rukopis je po svemu sudeći sadržavao već prerađeni tekst *Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina*, s dodanom legendom o ubojstvu kralja Zvonimira, ali još uvijek u verziji pisanoj latinskim jezikom (iz toga je teksta autor *Ugarsko-poljske kronike* crpio informacije i dobrim ih dijelom preradio za svoje djelo). No, ako su sve ove, zasada samo vjerojatne, pretpostavke doista točne, što one govore o vremenu banova Pavla i Mladena II?

U odgovoru na tako postavljen upit valja poći od jedne konstatacije koja se čini dosta uvjerljivom. Današnja povjesničarka, naime, zaključuje kako "prije razdoblja modernoga nacionalizma nitko nije uzimao da je etnički identitet običnoga puka igrao bilo kakvu ulogu u rješavanju pitanja tko će nad njima vladati" (Sedlar 1994, 408). Sukladno takvu shvaćanju fokus političke lojalnosti bili su osoba vladara i, eventualno, dinastija kojoj je on pripadao, dok su sentimenti vezani uz pripadnost etničkoj/jezičnoj zajednici imali relativno malu političku težinu. Iako bi se moglo uzeti da takav stav dosta vjerno zrcali stanje u većem dijelu Europe, bar do kraja 13. stoljeća, upravo je ono područje koje se danas označuje kao srednja-istočna Europa možda najviše odskakalo od takva stanja. Primjeri koje iznosi upravo spomenuta povjesničarka pokazuju da su u ovome dijelu svijeta problemi vezani uz etničke/jezične razlike već i u 12. stoljeću znali izazivati ozbiljne društvene prijepore, neprijateljstva, pa i otvorene sukobe (Kozma Praški i njegovo neprijateljstvo spram Nijemaca, i drugi slični primjeri - Sedlar 1994, 415 i d.). Slična se situacija ponavljala svagdje gdje je masovnija germanska kolonizacija stvarala kompaktne mase novoga pučanstva (Poljska, Češka, Transilvanija). Iz natjecanja za ograničene dostupne resurse nastajala su prva trenja, a potom i ozbiljniji sukobi. U Ugarsko-Hrvatskom Kraljevstvu, međutim, kako se iz svega naprijed rečenoga može zaključiti, tijekom 12. i većega dijela 13. stoljeća situacija je više odgovarala generalnoj slici europskoga Zapada no onoj srednje-istočne Europe. Fokus političke lojalnosti doista je bila vladajuća dinastija, a raspoloživi resursi su bili takvi da još uvijek natjecanje za njih nije doseglo točku na kojoj bi ugrozilo društvenu stabilnost. Tako su, primjerice, nakon 1102. godine kraljevi po-

However, the seal of the Zagreb body of canons was not the private province of the canons of Zagreb. The impression of the seal provides every piece of parchment or paper on which it is placed with the force of an authentic document, regardless of what is written on it. It carries the force of "public faith" and is used to authenticate the copies of existing documents, the authentication of various reports that the canons submit after performing tasks important in public and private affairs because of a lack of a true bureaucratic apparatus, it serves as the proof of a valid summons to court and so on (Kostrenčić, 1930). The seal of the Zagreb body of canons was frequently used, and those that needed to settle legal affairs came to Zagreb from afar. At the beginning of the 15th century, apart from the inhabitants of the diocese of Zagreb, here we would find a diverse crowd, from the nobles from Pset (the region around modern Bosanski Petrovac), members of the Mogorović family from Lika, to the Šubić family from the Zadar hinterland, who kept in close contact with their distant relatives who came to Zrin and the Una valley *(MOL,* D1 9078; 87843; Bojničić, 1899, 86). Issuing permission to make such an important object like the seal of the Zagreb body of canons was therefore an opportunity for a small ideological treatise. St. Stephen the King, the "first king of the Hungarians", was characterised as Louis's "master, predecessor and forefather", and he shines as prominently as "a ruby-coloured rose among lilies", and Louis states that he achieved all of his successes and victories "under his name". All this was the reason why the seal featured the figure of the saintly king kneeling before the Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus, presenting her with "the picture of the material building of the (Zagreb) temple". This picture on the seal, which has been preserved to this day, is a faithful reflection of the idea of the continuity from the "first king" to the one who made the decision and in whose name the privilege was issued. Specifically, the figure of the cathedral that the saintly king holds in his hands has a symbolical meaning, so that it clearly shows and stresses that part of it, the two bell towers on the façade, whose construction began at the behest of King Louis himself and which was financed by him (Stošić, 1994, 116).

All this, however, should be viewed as part of the official "image", the one that the king and those around him wished to impress upon the consciousness of his contemporaries, in similar fashion as a seal is impressed in wax. Nevertheless, the consciousness of their contemporaries is no longer the same as the one prevailing in the 12th and 13th centuries. It seems that the ideas concerning the "community of nobility" and the tradition of separate "kingdoms" came together

djeljivali posjede u Hrvatskoj istaknutim i vjernim ugarskim vitezovima, no njihov broj, osim u današnjoj istočnoj Slavoniji, nije nikada dosegao onu razinu na kojoj bi se oni mogli pojaviti kao zasebna interesna skupina. Jasno to dokazuje primjer roda čiji je rodonačelnik Acha, koji je, kako se čini, već potkraj 11. stoljeća došao u Hrvatsku s kraljem Ladislavom, dobivši zajedno s ogromnim posjedima na granici prema *Teutoniji* i čast zagrebačkoga župana. Njegovi nasljednici nisu, dakako, uspjeli očuvati županski položaj kao dio rodovskoga naslijeđa, ali su ipak zahvaljujući veličini zagorskih i prigorskih posjeda zadržali vrlo istaknutu poziciju u slavonskom društvu. Njihovu integraciju u to društvo, i to na način koji implicira mijenjanje etničke identifikacije, možda najbolje zrcali činjenica da u vrijeme kada ih vrela nešto češće registriraju, od početka 13. stoljeća, pripadnici roda nose uglavnom kršćanska, ponekada imena koja vuku korijen iz rodovske tradicije, kao Acha ili Aticha, ali i tipično slavenska imena, kakva su Vratislav, Strezimir, Vučina ili Borko. Stoga nije nikakvo čudo što u 14. stoljeću daleki potomci župana Ache dobivaju nadimak “Tot”, što je u mađarskome zapravo ekvivalent etničkoj identifikaciji “Slaven” (Ivančan 1904; Klaić 1982, 57-61, s pogrešnim tumačenjem u bilj. 16, prema kojemu je “Tot na ugarskom jeziku nadimak za Nijemca”). Stvaranje, pak, izrazito jakih veza solidarnosti u lokalnim okvirima jasno dokazuje ponašanje Acha u doba vladavine Ladislava IV. Kumanca (1272.-1290.). Tada, naime, počinje uspon Babonića (knezova Goričkih i Vodičkih), a upravo pripadnici roda Acha spadaju u red njihovih najistaknutijih pristaša. Oni su, uz Lapčane iz Pounja, glavni oslonac Babonićima u sukobu s Joakimom Pektarom i Gisingovcima, velikaškim rodom koji ima prostrane posjede preko Drave, a iza kojega barem formalno stoji i kraljevska vlast (Klaić 1976, 347). Teško može biti dvojbe oko toga jesu li u ovome sukobu Babonići svoje političke pristaše mobilizirali pozivom na lokalne lojalnosti u odnosu prema Gisingovcima kao “strancima”. No, takva vrst identifikacije nije implicirala mijenjanje postojeće političke matrice i prenošenje fokusa političke lojalnosti s vladara i dinastije na etničku/jezičnu zajednicu.

Čini se, međutim, kako upravo takvu vrst korjenite promjene valja tražiti u pozadini promicanja kulta kralja Zvonimira u doba banova Pavla i Mladena II. Kult, utemeljen na legendi o “posljednjem kralju” kojega su ubili njegovi “nevjerni” Hrvati, svoje pravo značenje dobiva tek spojen s činjenicom da onaj tko ga promiče i svojom titulom (prvo “gospodar” a potom i “ban Hrvata”) želi naglasiti pomicanje političkoga naglaska s pojma *regnum* na pojam zajednice određene, makar i zamišljenim, krvnim srodstvom – *natio*.

very early on, and this was also joined by the deeply rooted need of people to organise their view of the world through a division into “us” and “them”. A completely new framework for political action was thus formed, and it defined the link of traditional values and notions, as well as the result of current social developments. This was a time that saw the birth of what we have already labelled as “mediaeval nationalism”. We have encountered this complex of ideas that only gradually took on the form of an integral “image” for the first time at the time of the great social crisis at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, at a moment when sources have for the first time recorded that the former “coastal *ban*” Pavao Šubić Bribirski began to use a new title – “lord of the Croats”. Soon the combination of the double title, one of a royal official (“coastal *ban*”) and the other whose roots remain unclear (“lord of the Croats”) would be replaced by a new and simpler title of “*ban* of the Croats”. Today it would be very difficult to discern the way in which this came about or on what ideas the appearance of the new title or the change of the old one were based. Preserved sources provide us with no sure explanation; they only enable us to register the change. However, one thing is clear, and that is something new, a wish and a readiness to manipulate with various social dimensions, and even with the awareness of ethnic origin, in order to mobilise supporters, strengthen loyalty and, finally, to achieve political success. As we have already seen, Pavao did not move outside the framework that had been established long ago. He did not question the right of one king to rule over the two kingdoms, but he was, nevertheless, ready to try and mobilise his supporters in the ruling class in a new way in order to create a greater “domain” and firmer control over it. A part of this new strategy of mobilisation involved an appeal to history, as well as its reinterpretation. We can see these aims in the fact that at precisely this time, when Pavao was creating a new title for himself, in at least two locations there is evidence of what was before this time an unusual procedure with stone relics of early mediaeval church buildings. Here we are referring to the remains of sacred buildings from the 9th century that contained inscriptions mentioning Prince Branimir, which were then incorporated into restored or newly built sacred buildings (Jakšić, 2000, 80-85).

Furthermore, today we can claim with great certainty that during the reign of *Ban* Pavao in his new “domain”, new elements, embodied by the figure of King Zvonimir, were added to the old “image” of the king. What, then, happened to the figure of Zvonimir at the turn of the 14th century, in what form was his legend spread, and what was the influ-

U tome je kult ubijenoga posljednjeg kralja zapravo bio neke vrsti mobilizacijskoga poklića. Taj je poklič trebao one koji su se nazivali Hrvati nagnati da okaju "grijeh" počinjen ubojstvom kralja time što će stati iza novoga "gospodara Hrvata". Ovakvo tumačenje, međutim, zahtijeva i dvije pripomene. Prva se odnosi na gotovo sinkronost sličnih pojava u ugarskome društvu, obilježenih pojavom djela Šimuna de Keze, za koje je već rečeno da označuje rađanje "srednjovjekovnoga nacionalizma". Šimun u svome djelu također pomiče politički naglasak, no tu je riječ o guranju u stranu različitih *regna* kojima je ovladala dinastija Arpadovića, i s druge strane o izvlačenju u prvi plan onoga što kroničar sam naziva "čista Ugarska" (*pura Hungaria*). Pod tim se pojmom zapravo krije insistiranje na tradiciji navodnih 108 rodova koji su doselili u Panoniju i na posebnoj društvenoj vrijednosti njihovih izravnih nasljednika. Druga pripomena odnosi se na doseg i učinak ideja kakve se mogu naslutiti u pozadini rađanja Zvonimirova kulta, odnosno pojave djela Šimuna de Keze. Tu valja odmah upozoriti da su se takve ideje širile potkraj 13. i početkom 14. stoljeća, bar kada je riječ o pisanoj formi, u jezičnom mediju koji je na neki način stajao u suprotnosti sa samim njihovim zasadama. Drugim riječima, sve dok je jezik pismenosti bio gotovo isključivo latinski, kojemu su ionako najvještiji bili predstavnici hijerarhije univerzalne Katoličke crkve pod čvrstim nadzorom rimskoga papinstva, svaki poziv na jedinstvo unutar etničke/jezične zajednice nije mogao računati s ozbiljnijim odjekom i učinkom. Kako je taj poziv razbijao stari politički obrazac s fokusom lojalnosti na dinastiji i osobi vladara, značilo je to istodobno načeti i crkveno učenje o važnosti svetaca koje je ta dinastija dala. To, pak, u ovo doba još nije uopće dolazilo u pitanje. Uza sve to, konačni je učinak takva djelovanja bio ograničen i mogućnošću širenja jednoobraznih informacija u društvu koje jednostavno nije raspolagalo infrastrukturom potrebnom za takvo što (škole, sredstva masovnoga komuniciranja, itd.).

Posebno pitanje na koje je danas vrlo teško čak i naslutiti odgovor jest ono koje se odnosi na stvarne ciljeve što su ih svome djelovanju postavljali banovi Pavao i njegov sin Mladen II. Kako je već rečeno, u obraćanju papi Bonifaciju VIII. Pavao doduše govori zasebno o Hrvatskome Kraljevstvu i objašnjava zašto papa ima pravo odlučivati o novome vladaru, ali istodobno ne niječe da Hrvatsko i Ugarsko Kraljevstvo imaju jednoga zajedničkog kralja. S druge strane, za pružanje podrške ambicijama Anžuvinaca Pavao kao najveću nagradu dobiva pravo na doživotnu bansku čast. To, međutim, posve sigurno nije konačan okvir njegovih i želja njegova sina. Što su doista htjeli i željeli, možda se najbolje može prosuditi

ence in this exerted by the *ban* himself and his court? In the search for the origins of the legend we should certainly note that its first echoes appear in the work of Archdeacon Toma. Here, for the first time, we come across the notion that Zvonimir was "the last Croatian king", with whom the "line of royal blood" became extinct (Rački, 1894, 56-7). The notion of the "last king" is not necessarily incorporated in Pavao's appeal to Zvonimir's actions when explaining why the pope has the right to determine who would in future rule over the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia. Admittedly, Pavao's arguments have not been preserved in their entirety, but only in a summarised form that was quoted by the historian Baltazar Krčelić in the 18th century. From this shortened version we can clearly discern only that the *"ban* of the Croats" had some information relating to actual circumstances in his time. Taking into account his close links with Rome and the papacy (Karbić, 1999, 230-3), it is not difficult to suppose that he was aware of Zvonimir's vow of loyalty from 1076, which was kept in Rome (Diplomatički zbornik I, 139). The papal curia referred to it in the 12th century when it offered a proposal for the settlement of a dispute between the Templars and the bishop of Skradin concerning the abbey of St. Gregory (Diplomatički zbornik II, 125-6). However, it seems that the *ban* also manipulated with Zvonimir's name in other ways. So, for example, there are strong indications that he placed a tablet in the newly built Franciscan monastery in the centre of the community of his clan, in Bribir, with the inscription mentioning King Zvonimir (Karbić, 2000, 275-6). It is also important to draw attention to a series of facts, which at first glance do not seem to be significantly connected, but which, when considered in the context of what has been said, point to the possibility that the legend of Zvonimir had already taken shape by the beginning of the 14th century and that it was most notably used at the court of the Šubić family. This series of facts relates to a little-known episode from the history of the Šubić family, namely the marriage of Katarina, the daughter of *Ban* Mladen II and the granddaughter of *Ban* Pavao, with the Polish duke Boleslav III of Wroclav, in the middle of the 20s of the 14th century (Wertner, 1901). We know nothing about the circumstances in which Katarina went to Wroclav, or about who accompanied her or about possible links with her homeland. Nevertheless, it was recorded that she was "born in Croatia, and brought (to Wroclav) from Hungary". It seems that her stay there should be linked with the origin of at least a part of what is otherwise a mysterious and unusual work known as the *Hungarian and Polish Chronicles.* The aspect of this work that de-

temeljem onoga što netko od njih, u nepoznatome trenutku, unosi u krivotvoreni privilegij, pripisan kancelariji kralja Andrije III. Mlečanina (Diplomatički zbornik VII, 163-4). U kojoj je formi sačuvan do vremena kada ga je u 17. stoljeću prepisao i tiskao Ivan Lucić i je li taj privilegij ikada stvarno bio korišten u bilo koje svrhe, još uvijek su nepoznanice. No, ako je suditi po sadržaju te ne baš pretjerano vješto sročene krivotvorine, čini se da je cilj oca i sina bio stjecanje nasljednoga banskog položaja. Značenje bi takve promijene u statusu roda bilo dakako veliko. Naime, bez obzira na to što je dobio doživotnu potvrdu titule, Pavlovo je banstvo ipak bilo “služba” (*offitium*) i “čast” (*honor*) koje je dobio od kralja i koje su se po njegovoj smrti vraćale kralju. Nasljedno banstvo, međutim, značilo bi stvaranje zasebnoga “gospodstva” (*dominium*) i utemeljenje dinastije. Pri tomu ne treba zaboraviti kako je u žilama Pavlove djece već kolala “krv kraljevskoga roda”, i to dviju dinastija – Arpadovića i srpske “svetorodne” dinastije Nemanjića. Njihova majka, banova žena Ursa, potjecala je, naime, iz braka srpskoga (ras)kralja Dragutina i Katarine, kćerke ugarsko-hrvatskog kralja Stjepana V. (Wertner 1901, 215-6). Teško može biti dvojbe u to da je i ta činjenica igrala veliku ulogu u stvaranju planova na Pavlovu dvoru.

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Planovi Šubića Bribirskih doživjeli su 1322. godine potpuni neuspjeh. Te je godine, naime, Mladena II. poslije poraza koji je pretrpio od udruženih hrvatskih velikaša zarobio kralj Karlo Roberto i odveo ga sa sobom u Ugarsku. Teško se oteti dojmu da je ironija sudbine to što je banov kraj pomalo ličio na kraj kralja Zvonimira, kako je on predočen u legendi. Dio te ironije, međutim, jest i činjenica da je legenda prerasla u sastavni dio mita na kojemu će se vremenom izgraditi i moderna hrvatska nacija. Pri tomu valja upozoriti na činjenicu da legenda nije ostala bez odjeka čak ni u ideologiji kraljevske vlasti izgrađene za Anžuvinaca. Možda već Karlo Roberto, a ako ne on onda zasigurno njegov sin, Ludovik Veliki, prihvatili su legendu. S osloncem na onaj njezin dio koji govori o Zvonimiru kao “posljednjem hrvatskome kralju”, izgrađeno je na anžuvinskome dvoru novo shvaćanje podrijetla prava na Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo, zabilježeno i reproducirano u cijelome nizu tekstova iz 14. stoljeća (*Bečka ilustrirana kronika/Ugarska kronika sastavljena u 14. stoljeću, Požunska kronika, Minhenska kronika*). Obzirom na činjenicu da svi drugi tekstovi reproduciraju ono što donosi *Bečka ilustrirana kronika,* dovoljno je osvrnuti se ovdje na njezin tekst u dijelu koji govori o načinu na koji je kralj Ladislav ovladao Dalmacijom i Hrvatskom. Priča se uvelike razlikuje od one

serves special attention from the standpoint of the context we are dealing with is its third chapter (Szentpétery, 1938, 302-5). Specifically, here we find under the title “Concerning the Victory of King Attila” mixed and fundamentally reworked elements of a textual tradition that has been preserved in the work known as *The Chronicles of Priest Dukljanin,* namely elements that appear in the Croatian translation and adaptation of that work, which Marko Marulić called *The Chronicles of Kings of Croatia and Dalmatia* (Ančić, 1997a). It is especially important that the *Hungarian and Polish Chronicles* also mention the story of how Croats killed their king, chosen by God, which does not appear in the original text of *The Chronicles of Priest Dukljanin,* but only in the Croatian adaptation and translation. However, on the other hand, the way in which the *Hungarian and Polish Chronicles* bring parts of the *The Chronicles of Priest Dukljanin,* we can conclude that the author was working from the Latin original, and not from the Croatian translation. From all this we can conclude two things. First, Katarina had brought to Wroclav a manuscript, which is now lost. Second, the manuscript probably contained an already reworked text of the *The Chronicles of Priest Dukljanin,* with the added legend of King Zvonimir, but still in a version written in Latin (the author of the *Hungarian and Polish Chronicles* drew information from that text and reworked it for his work). But, if all of these assumptions, which are for now only probable, are correct, what do they tell us about the time in which *bans* Pavao and Mladen II lived?

In answering this question we should start out from a statement that seems fairly plausible. Namely, a contemporary historian concludes that “before the period of modern nationalism no one considered that the ethnic identity of the common people played any part in solving the question of who would rule over them” (Sedlar, 1994, 408). In line with this thinking, the focus of political loyalty were the person of the ruler and, possibly, the dynasty to which he belonged, while sentiments linked with belonging to an ethnic or language community carried relatively little political weight. Although we could accept that such a standpoint fairly faithfully reflects the situation in most of Europe, at least until the end of the 13th century, it is precisely this region which is today labelled as Central and Eastern Europe that most stands apart from the general rule. Examples given by precisely this historian show that in this part of the world the problems linked with ethnic and linguistic differences had already in the 12th century caused serious social disputes, hostilities and even open conflicts (Cosmo of Prague and his hostility towards Germans and other similar examples –

koju bilježi Šimun de Keza i u prvi plan stavlja nasljedno pravo preneseno po ženskoj liniji. Naime, pošto je Zvonimir umro bez nasljednika, njegovu ženu, sestru kralja Ladislava, ugrožavaju i nanose joj nepravde brojni neprijatelji. Ona, pak, poziva u pomoć brata, koji ponovno uspostavlja njezinu vlast u zemlji. Nakon toga je od kraljice preuzeo cijelo kraljevstvo, "i to nije učinio iz pohlepe, već stoga što mu je po zakonitome kraljevskom pravu pripadalo nasljedstvo, jer mu je kralj Zvonimir bio srodnik u prvom koljenu a (vlastitih) nasljednika nije imao" (Szentpétery 1937, 406). Već iz citiranih riječi nije teško razabrati da je argumentacija jako podsjećala na slučaj samih Anžuvinaca, koji su do kraljevske krune u Ugarsko-Hrvatskom Kraljevstvu također došli naslijeđem po ženskoj liniji. Uz to je uspomena na Zvonimira dobro kotirala i na papinskoj kuriji, važnome osloncu kraljevske vlasti i za Karla Roberta i za Ludovika Velikog. Sve je to bilo razlogom da je Zvonimir konačno uvršten u popis kraljevskih "pređa i praroditelja" i da je njegovo ime relativno često korišteno u javnoj i službenoj komunikaciji od sredine 14. stoljeća nadalje (Karbić 1999a, 23-4). Time je, zapravo, službena "slika" kralja samo obogaćena, a dijelom je otupljena oštrica nastojanja da se s pozivom na tradiciju ubijenog "posljednjeg kralja" pomjeri fokus političke lojalnosti.

To, ipak, nije spriječilo uporabu legende u posve drugačijem kontekstu. Doduše, činjenica da se ona pojavljuje u dvjema različitim verzijama s kraja 14. ili početka 15. stoljeća (*Ljetopis kraljeva Hrvatske i Dalmacije* i *Anonimna kronika*) samo pokazuje kako je još i u ovo doba bilo gotovo nemoguće širiti jednoobraznu informaciju kao elementaran preduvjet svake masovnije političke mobilizacije. No, uspjeh legende i njezino postupno pomicanje u sferu mita nisu bili mogući bez prodora živoga govornog jezika u domenu pisanoga teksta. Taj se prodor može pratiti dosta pouzdano i precizno tijekom cijeloga 14. stoljeća, pri čemu se govorni jezik u pisanoj formi etablirao kroz službene dokumente (isprave koje su izdavali hrvatski velikaši) ali i bogatu književnu produkciju, od prijevoda do izvornih djela. Time su bili stvoreni uvjeti za uspjeh onih ideja koje su prvi put (bar koliko to otkrivaju sačuvana vrela) artikulirane u doba najveće moći Šubića Bribirskih. Svijest etničke zajednice o vlastitoj posebnosti i razlici u odnosu prema "drugima" dobila je afirmacijom svoga jezika u sferi elitne kulture snažan oslonac. U konačnici ju je to činilo pogodnom za novi fokus lojalnosti, što se najjasnije uobličuje u izričaju kojim se u *Ljetopisu kraljeva Hrvatske i Dalmacije* opisuju posljedice Zvonimirova ubojstva. Kao i u svim mitotvornim tekstovima, i ovdje su informacije iz realnoga prostora i vremena združene s poluinformacijama i čistom fikcijom u gotovo nerazmrsivo klupko koje, međutim,

Sedlar, 1994, 415 and pf). A similar situation was repeated wherever significantly massive German colonisation created compact masses of new inhabitants (Poland, Bohemia, Transylvania). The competition for limited resources led to initial friction and then to more serious conflicts. However, as far as we can deduce from all that has been said above, in the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia during the 12th and most of the 13th century, the situation was generally more similar to that in Western Europe than that in Central and Eastern Europe. The focus of political loyalty was indeed the ruling dynasty, while the existing resources were such that competition for them did not reach a point at which this could threaten social stability. In this way, for example, after 1102 kings gave estates in Croatia to prominent and loyal Hungarian knights, but their number had never, except in eastern Slavonia, reached a level at which they could appear as a separate interest group. This is clearly shown by the example of the clan whose head, Acha, apparently came to Croatia with King Ladislas at the end of the 11th century; along with large estates on the border with *Teutonia,* he was given the title of the prefect of the District of Zagreb. Naturally, his descendants did not succeed in holding on to the position of district prefect as a part of their family inheritance, but they nevertheless held onto a very prominent position in Slavonian society as a result of the size of their estates in Zagorje and Prigorje. Their integration into that society, and in a way that implies a change in their ethnic identification, is perhaps best reflected in the fact that at the time when they are registered more frequently in sources, from the beginning of the 13th century, members of that clan usually bear Christian names, and sometimes names that derive from the tradition of their clan, like Acha or Aticha, but they also bear typically Slavic names like Vratislav, Strezimir, Vučina and Borko. It is therefore no wonder that in the 14th century the distant descendants of the prefect Acha were given the nickname "Tot", which in Hungarian is the equivalent to the ethnic identification of "Slav" (Ivančan, 1904; Klaić, 1982, 57-61, with the erroneous explanation in footnote 16, according to which "Tot in Hungarian was a nickname for Germans"). On the other hand, the creation of strong bonds of solidarity within the local framework is clearly shown in the behaviour of the Achas during the reign of Ladislas IV the Cuman (1272-1290). It is at that time that we see the beginning of the rise of the Babonić family (the princes of Gorice and Vodice), when members of the Acha clan were among their most prominent supporters. They were, along with the Lapčan family from the Una valley, the mainstay of the Babonić family in the conflict with Joakim Pektar and krajnje učinkovito i nepogrješivo prenosi vrlo složenu poruku. Kao ključna mjesta u ovoj verziji legende stoje (Mošin 1950, 68):

a) trenutak kada “ugarski kralj imenom Bela prvi ... vaze kraljevstvo hrvacko ... vazam Hrvate, i zagorsko i primorsko i bosansko kraljevstvo” - ukratko je zapravo opisan prostor etničke zajednice koji se u stvarnosti već definira jezičnim kriterijem;

b) posljedica toga jest da “po rečenom kralju ugarskomu Hrvati biše podloženi od volje u nevolju; i od slobodnih u rabotu obrati”; ta “rabota” objašnjava se biblijskom paralelom kao nagrada za ubojstvo kralja, a sastoji se od toga da su postali poput Židova, “inim služe, ne imajući ni oni od svoga jazika gospodina” – ovo je jedna vrst političkog proglasa koji objašnjava da je etnička/jezična zajednica kao fokus lojalnosti slobodna samo onda ako ima “od svoga jazika gospodina”, ako to pak nema onda je u stanju neslobode (“rabote”) i podložna je drugoj etničkoj/jezičnoj zajednici koja daje “gospodina”.

Obrat u odnosu na “sliku” kakva je vladala do 13. stoljeća, odnosno na “sliku” koju reproducira i pokušava prenijeti i proširiti kraljevska vlast u 14. stoljeću, ovdje je potpun. Dakako, ova alternativna “slika” teško i sporo traži i nalazi put do onih kojima je namijenjena. Pri tomu ne treba imati nikakvih iluzija – njezina predviđena publika relativno je uzak krug političke elite, “zajednica plemenitih” (*universitas nobilium*) u okviru svake od nabrojanih kraljevina (*regnuma*). U tome će pogledu tek moderna vremena donijeti promjenu, obraćajući se kroz medije masovne komunikacije masovnoj publici.

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Kao epilog svemu rečenom ovdje valja naznačiti još dvije stvari.

S jedne strane, naime, treba reći da silni trud, sredstva, energija i znanje što ih je kraljevska vlast tijekom 14. stoljeća uložila u reproduciranje i širenje naslijeđene “slike” kralja nisu mogli spriječiti prodor novih elemenata koji će stubokom promijeniti tu sliku. Iz okvira “srednjovjekovnoga nacionalizma” postavljenih u Ugarskoj krajem 13. stoljeća, uz oslonac na pravna shvaćanja što su se širila iz sveučilišnih krugova, izgrađena je i tijekom 15. stoljeća do kraja uobličena pravna teorija o “svetoj kruni Ugarskoga Kraljevstva” (*sacra corona regni Hungariae*). Ta je “sveta kruna” postala depersonalizirani simbol jedinstvenoga kraljevstva i vlasti kralja. Ukorjenjivanje i društveni uspjeh te teorije dobrim je dijelom bio rezultat slučaja, odnosno nedostatka muškoga potomstva

the Gisingovac family, magnates with large estates across the Drava, which at least formally enjoyed the support of royal authority (Klaić, 1976, 347). There can hardly be any doubt whether the Babonić family in this conflict mobilised their supporters with a call for local loyalty in relation to the Gisingovac family as “foreigners”. However, this form of identification did not imply a change of the existing political matrix or a shift of the focus of political loyalty from the ruler and the dynasty to the ethnic or linguistic community.

However, it seems that it is precisely this form of radical shift that we should search for in the background of the promotion of the cult of King Zvonimir at the time of *bans* Pavao and Mladen II. The cult, based on the legend about the “last king” who was killed by his “disloyal” Croats, takes on its full significance only in conjunction with the fact that the person promoting it is using his title (first “lord” and then “*ban* of the Croats”) to emphasise the shift of the political stress from the notion of *regnum* to the notion of a community that is defined by – at least an imagined – relationship in blood – *natio*. In view of this, the cult of the murdered last king was in fact a form of war cry. This appeal was aimed at making those who called themselves Croats cleanse the “sin” committed by the murder of the king by standing behind the new “lord of the Croats”. However, this explanation demands two notes. The first involves the almost synchronous appearance of similar notions in Hungarian society, marked with the appearance of the work of Simon of Keza, for which we have already said that they mark the birth of “mediaeval nationalism”. In his work, Simon also shifts the political emphasis, but in this case we are dealing with the fact that he discards the different kingdoms which the Arpad dynasty came to rule over; on the other hand, here he is bringing into the limelight what the chronicler himself calls “pure Hungary” *(pura Hungaria)*. By this he in fact disguises the insistence on the tradition of the supposed 108 clans who came to Pannonia and of the special social status of their direct descendents. The second note relates to the scope and impact of the ideas that might lie in the background of the creation of the cult of Zvonimir and the appearance of the work by Simon of Keza. Here we should note that these ideas spread at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, at least in written form, in a linguistic medium that, in a way, stood in opposition with their very fundamentals. In other words, all the time while the language of literacy was almost exclusively Latin, which was best spoken and written by representatives of the hierarchy of the universal Catholic church under the firm control

ugarsko-hrvatskih vladara 15. stoljeća. Odsustvo dinastičkoga kontinuiteta imalo je kao rezultat ustaljivanje prakse *izbora* novoga kralja, čime je on definitivno izgubio srednjovjekovnu auru i prestao biti fokus političke lojalnosti.

Na drugoj strani stoji zaključak po kojemu bi iole detaljnije praćenja razvoja, odnosno ukorjenjivanja "slike" koju ocrtava završni dio teksta *Ljetopisa kraljeva Hrvatske i Dalmacije*, u uvjetima ogromne količine sačuvanih vrela iz 15. stoljeća daleko nadilazio zadatak ovoga teksta. Stoga ću se ograničiti na zaključak da je taj razvoj, uz utjecaje koji su dolazili iz Ugarske, izravno vodio ka saboru hrvatskoga plemstva u Cetinu 1. siječnja 1527. Na tome skupu okupljeni su hrvatski velikaši za kralja Kraljevine Hrvatske *izabrali* Ferdinanda Habsburgovca. Poruka koju su nakon toga sastavili i uputili novoizabranom kralju riječima kako "poslije smrti našega posljednjeg kralja, zvanog Zvonimir, (mi smo) se slobodne volje pridružili svetoj kruni kraljevstva ugarskoga" (Raukar 1997, 110) dovoljno jasno govori o društvenom učinku legende čiju je političku uporabu moguće pratiti od kraja 13. stoljeća. Njezino reproduciranje i širenje bitno je utjecalo na redefiniranje srednjovjekovne "slike" kralja u Hrvatskoj.

of the papacy in Rome, any call for unity within an ethnical or linguistic community could not count on a serious echo or impact. Since that call shattered the old political form focussed on loyalty to the dynasty and the person of the ruler, it was also aimed against the teaching of the church concerning the importance of the saints from that dynasty. And that was completely out of the question at that time. Apart from all this, the final effect of this action was also limited by the possibility of disseminating homogenous information in a society that simply did not have the infrastructure required for such a task (schools, means of mass communication etc.).

A separate question for which it is today difficult even to begin to understand is the one that relates to the actual aims that *bans* Pavao and Mladen II set for their actions. As we have already mentioned, when writing to Pope Boniface VIII, Pavao indeed speaks of a separate Croatian Kingdom and explains why the pope has the right to decide on a new ruler, he does not dispute that the Croatian and Hungarian Kingdoms have one single king. On the other hand, for supporting the ambitions of the Anjou dynasty, Pavao received his greatest reward in the form of holding the office of *ban* for life. This, however, was certainly not the final aim of his wishes and the wishes of his son. What they really wanted can perhaps best be discerned on the basis of what one of them, at a time which we cannot pin down, entered into a forged deed of privilege, which was ascribed to the chancery of King Andrew III the Venetian (Diplomatički zbornik VII, 163-4). We still do not know what form it was preserved in until it was copied and printed by Ivan Lucić in the 17th century, nor do we know whether that privilege was ever actually used for any purpose. However, if we can judge by the contents of this shoddy forgery, it would seem that the aim of the father and the son was to gain the hereditary office of *ban*. The significance of such a change in the status of a family was, naturally, immense. Regardless of the fact that Pavao was confirmed as *ban* for life, it was still an "office" *(offitium)* and "honour" *(honor)* that was given to him by the king and would return to the king after his death. On the other hand, a hereditary title of *ban* would entail the creation of a separate "dominion" *(dominium)* and the establishment of a dynasty. Here we should keep in mind that the veins of Pavao's children already held "blood of a royal line", blood from no less than two dynasties – the Arpad dynasty and the Serbian "holy-born" Nemanja dynasty. Their mother, Pavao's mother Ursa was born in the marriage between the Serbian (abdicated) King Dragutin and Katarina, the daughter of Stephen V, the king of Hungary and Croatia (Wertner, 1901, 215-6).

There could hardly be any doubt that this fact also played a great part in the planning carried out at Pavao's court.

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The plans of the Šubić family from Bribir were completely crushed in 1322. It was then that Mladen II suffered defeat at the hands of united Croatian magnates and was taken prisoner by King Charles Robert, who took him with him to Hungary. It is difficult not to be struck by the irony of the fact that the *bans* end was somewhat reminiscent of the end of King Zvonimir as depicted in the legend. However, a part of that irony also lies in the fact that the legend was transformed into an integral part of the myth on which the modern Croatian nation would be built over time. Here we should also point out that the legend did not go without mention even in the ideology of royal power that was developed during the reign of the Anjou dynasty. If not Charles Robert, then it was certainly his son Louis the Great who accepted this legend. Relying of the part of the legend that speaks about Zvonimir as "the last Croatian king", the court of Anjou developed a new interpretation of the claim to the Croatian Kingdom, which was noted and reproduced in a whole series of texts from the 14th century *(The Viennese Illustrated Chronicle/The Hungarian Chronicle Written in the 14th Century, The Pressburg Chronicle, The Munich Chronicle).* In view of the fact that all other texts reproduce what is written in *The Viennese Illustrated Chronicle,* we need to go no further than consider that part of the text that deals with the way in which King Ladislas came to rule over Dalmatia and Croatia. This story is quite different from the one given by Simon of Keza and places the emphasis on the transfer of the right of inheritance to the female line. That is to say that since Zvonimir died without an heir, his wife, the sister of King Ladislas, was threatened and unjustly treated by numerous enemies. It was then that she called to her brother for help, and he re-established her authority in the country. After that he took over the entire kingdom, "and he did not do this out of greed, but because he was entitled to it on the basis of true royal right, since King Zvonimir was his immediate relative who had no heirs of his own" (Szentpétry, 1937, 406). From the words we have quoted it is not difficult to see that the arguments are very reminiscent of the case of the Anjou family itself, which also gained the crown of the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia by means of inheritance through the female line. Furthermore, the memory of Zvonimir was also held in high esteem at the papal curia, a mainstay of royal power both during the reign of Charles Robert and his son Louis the Great. All this was the reason why Zvonimir was finally included in the list of royal "predecessors and forefathers" and why his name was relatively frequently used in public and official communications from the middle of the 14th century onwards (Karbić, 1999a, 23-4). In this was, the official "image" of the king was only enhanced, and this partly blunted the edge of efforts to shift the focus of political loyalty with an appeal to the tradition of the murdered "last king".

Nevertheless, this did not stop the use of the legend in quite a different context. Although it must be said that the fact that it appears in two different versions from the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century *(Chronicles of the Kings of Croatia and Dalmatia* and the *Anonymous Chronicle)* only shows that it was at that time almost impossible to disseminate a uniform piece of information as the elementary precondition for any form of massive political mobilisation. Nevertheless, the success of the legend and its gradual shifting into the sphere of myth were not possible without the penetration of the living spoken language into the sphere of the written text. We can trace this penetration fairly accurately and with great confidence during the whole of the 14th century, when the spoken language in the written form established itself through official documents (documents issued by Croatian magnates), as well as through a rich literary production, ranging from translations to original works. This created the conditions for the success of those ideas that were for the first time (as far as we can tell from the preserved sources) articulated at the time of the greatest power of the Šubić family from Bribir. The awareness of an ethnic community's individuality and difference with respect to "others" was given strong support by the emergence of its language in the sphere of elite culture. In the final analysis, this made it suitable for creating a new focus of loyalty, which took on its clearest shape in the way in which the *Chronicles of the Kings of Croatia and Dalmatia* describe the effects of Zvonimir's murder. As in all texts that lead to the creation of myths, information from the real time and space is blended with half-truths and pure fiction to make an almost indecipherable web that, nevertheless, very effectively and unerringly transmits a very complex message. The key points in this version of the legend are as follows (Mošin, 1950, 68):

a) The moment when the "Hungarian king named Bela the First... took the Croatian Kingdom... all the Croats, as well as the kingdom of Zagora, Primorje and Bosnia" – in short, this describes the territory of the ethnic community that is in reality already defined by the linguistic criterion.

b) The consequence of this was that "according to the said king of Hungary, Croats were moved from peace to trouble, from freedom to servitude"; and this "servitude" was explained by the Biblical parallel as their reward for the murder of the king, for which they became like the Jews, "servants to others, without a lord that spoke their tongue" – this was a form of political proclamation that explained that the ethnic or linguistic community as the focus of loyalty if free only when it has "lord that speaks their tongue"; if it does not, then it is in a state of "servitude" and is subject to another ethnic or linguistic community that provides the "lord".

Here we have the complete reversal with respect to the "image" that dominated up to the 13th century, namely the "image" that was reproduced and subject to attempts at disseminating and expanding by the royal authority in the 14th century. Naturally, this alternative "image" found its way to those for whom it was intended only slowly and with great difficulty. And here we should be under no illusion – its intended public was a relatively small circle of the political elite, "the community of nobles" *(universitas nobilium)* within each of the listed kingdoms *(regnuma)*. With respect to this, a change would come only in modern times with mass media that communicated with the mass public at large.

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As an epilogue to all the above we should note two more things.

On the one hand we need to say that the immense effort, resources, energy and knowledge that royal power in the 14th century expended in the reproduction and dissemination of the inherited "image" of the king could not prevent the penetration of new elements that would completely change this image. From the framework of "mediaeval nationalism" established in Hungary at the end of the 13th century, with support of legal interpretations that were disseminated from universities, the 15th century saw the complete formulation of the legal theory concerning the "holy crown of the Hungarian Kingdom *(sacra corona regni Hungariae)*. This "sacred crown" became the depersonalised symbol of a unified kingdom and the rule of the king. The fact that this theory became firmly rooted and met with social success was to a significant extent the result of chance, namely the lack of a male heir of the rulers of Hungary and Croatia in the 15th century. The lack of a dynastic continuity had as a result the establishment of a practice of *choosing* a new king, a process in which he definitively lost his mediaeval aura and stopped being the focus of political loyalty.

On the other hand we have to conclude that any detailed study of the development and establishment of the "image" as sketched in the final part of the text of the *Chronicles of the Kings of Croatia and Dalmatia* greatly surpasses the aims of this texts, especially with respect to the immense number of preserved sources from the 15th century. I shall therefore limit myself to the conclusion that this development, along with influences that came from Hungary, directly led to the assembly of Croatian nobles in Cetin on January 1st 1527. At this assembly, the gathered Croatian magnates *chose* for the king of the Kingdom of Croatia Ferdinand of Habsburg. The message that they formulated and sent to the newly-elected king – with the words "after the death of our last king, named Zvonimir, we had, of our own free will, joined the holy crown of the Hungarian Kingdom" (Raukar, 1997, 110) – clearly speaks about the social impact of the legend whose political usage can be traced from the end of the 13th century. Its reproduction and dissemination had a major impact on the redefinition of the mediaeval "image" of the king in Croatia.

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